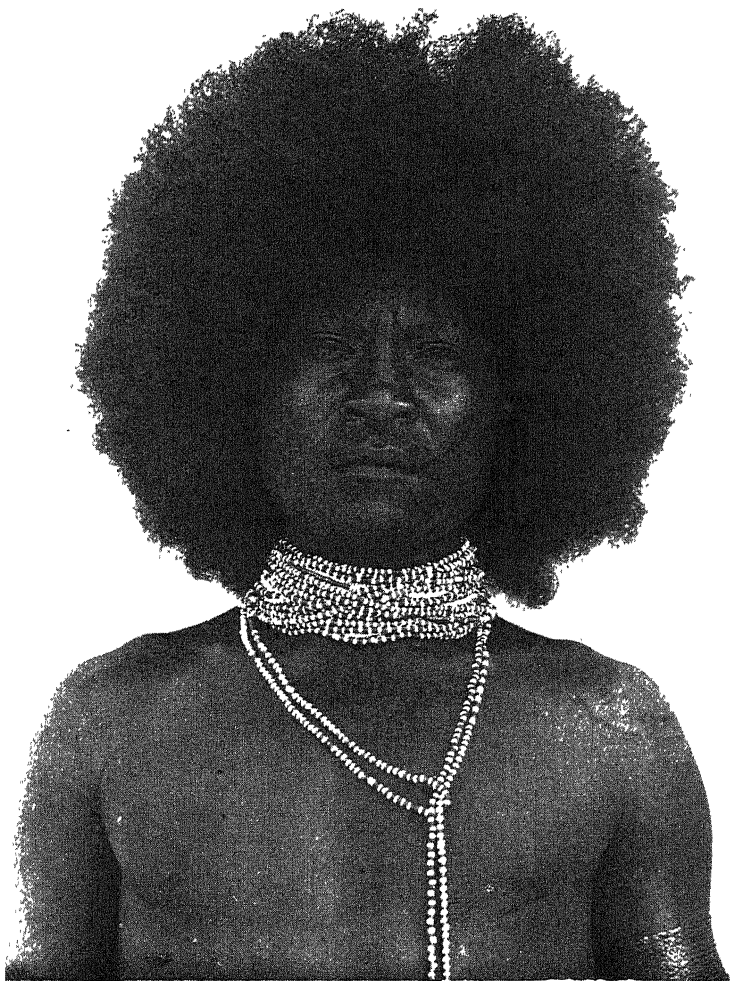




PAPUA OF TO-DAY



A MOTU MAN. PORT MORESBY

PAPUA OF TO-DAY

OR

AN AUSTRALIAN COLONY
IN THE MAKING

BY

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To
MY WIFE

PREFACE.

MUCH of this book is taken from pamphlets and papers which I have written at various times. I wish to mention particularly two papers which I read in London last year, one to the Royal Colonial Institute on "Papua of To-day," and the other to the Royal Anthropological Institute on "Native Administration in Papua": two which I read in Melbourne, one in January 1921, before the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, on "Anthropology and the Government of Subject Races," and the other in August 1923, to a meeting of the Pan-Pacific Conference; and an article called "The Native Problem in Papua" which appeared in the *New Outlook* of June 14, 1922. I found that I could not express myself more clearly than I did on those occasions, and have therefore ventured to repeat in part what I said then.

The photographs, which are probably the best part of the book, are none of them my own. Some were taken by my wife, and others have been given to me by friends in Papua, of whom I may mention, in particular, Miss Beatrice Grimshaw, and Mr. Karius of the Papuan Government Service.

I am indebted to the Chief Draughtsman, Mr. C. R. Pinney, for valuable assistance in the preparation of maps, and to many other residents of Papua for information and suggestions. The chapters on Exploration are taken

almost entirely from an account written by me in 1922-3 and published officially in Sydney.

The book is in some respects a continuation of one which I wrote in 1912. The Papua of to-day is very different from the Papua of twelve years ago, and my former book,¹ though correct at the time it was written, would be misleading if it were taken as a description of the present state of the Territory. Up to 1912 there was nothing very special about Papuan administration or Papuan history, and it is only since that date that we have been able to define and develop our native policy ; and it is our native policy that is the distinctive part of our administration, by which it will be judged as a success or a failure.

The British system of colonial administration, which we in Papua are seeking to follow, aims at the preservation of the native races, even of those "weaker peoples" who are "not yet able to stand by themselves." The "well-being and development" of these peoples is declared by the League of Nations to "form a sacred trust of civilization," and this declaration is entirely in accord with all the best traditions of British administration. A more robust and less sensitive school of political thought would argue that these "weaker peoples" should be allowed to die, and that their place should be taken by other hardier and more capable races ; according to this view the disappearance of the peoples of the Pacific, instead of being checked, should be encouraged, and their place should be filled by the industrial races of Asia, who display incomparably more "fitness to survive" than any of the peoples of New Guinea or Melanesia.

¹ *Papua or British New Guinea.* T. Fisher Unwin, 1912.

I confess that from the purely materialistic standpoint I can see no answer to this argument, though I shudder at the possibility of its practical application, for it is conceivable that a people might be discovered whose fitness for survival is superior to our own ; and I am glad to think that it has received no general support. It depends upon a political philosophy which is perhaps now rather the worse for wear, but it is quite possible that the old materialistic and utilitarian ideas may become fashionable again. It is therefore perhaps worth while to invite attention to the fact that, even on purely utilitarian grounds, it is obviously to the advantage of Australia to preserve a race like the present inhabitants of Papua, who can never be a menace to the Commonwealth; rather than to acquiesce in the disappearance of the Papuan as "unfit," and the substitution for him of an Asiatic whose very "fitness" would make him a possible danger.

There are one or two points upon which I feel that I should explain myself more fully. The first is the value of anthropology in administration, and the necessity of keeping up the old customs. I have always been alive to the dangers which arise from the destruction of the old native life, and I invited attention to them in 1912 (see *Papua or British New Guinea*, Preface, p. 9), at a time when such opinions were less popular than they are now ; and I have called attention to them again in the following pages. But at the same time I think that in actual administration it will be found that things do not always work out as they should, and that the old customs are occasionally a bar to the best form of progress. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the solidarity of the men's communal houses

in the Gulf of Papua has been an advantage in the past, but I have been told that it has been found in the eastern part of the Gulf to be an obstacle to co-operation on anything like an extensive scale. The men of an eravo (for so these houses are called in this district) will work together, but there is a difficulty in getting one eravo to work with another ; and I am told that a scheme which was proposed for co-operation in the production of copra has consequently met with considerable difficulty.

So I think that anthropology should be applied to administration with discretion, and with a constant reference to surrounding circumstances ; otherwise much labour may be lost in endeavouring to preserve a native custom in an environment where it has really no longer any place.

The other point is my attitude towards the Missions. Doubtless many will be of opinion that I am too sympathetic with Missions and missionaries, and may think that I am influenced in that direction by my views on religion ; but I do not think that I am. As I have explained in one of the later chapters, I do not consider that an administrator has any concern with the truth of Christianity, and I feel sure that I should have exactly the same opinion of the value of Missions in administration if, *per impossibile*, I became an atheist to-morrow. Of course I need hardly say that, as an administrator, I draw no distinction between the different Churches ; they are all working for the same general end, and all deserve Government sympathy and support.

I do not think I have said anything in the book that can hurt the feelings of the planters or any other section of the community. If I have, I withdraw it without reserve.

In my opinion, as I think I have sufficiently explained, the differences which from time to time arise between the Government of a tropical dependency and the residents generally are not to be explained on the theory that either side to the dispute is abnormally vicious or incompetent ; they are due rather to the different views which the two parties naturally take of administrative questions, as a result of the rather different duties that attach to their respective positions.

I should like to add one word about the Public Service of the Territory. It is a small service, and from the nature of the case it is not highly paid ; but it is a good service, and one to which any man may be proud to belong. No less than a third of its members went to the war, and it was not until they were gone that we realized how difficult it was to fill their places. If it appears that in the following pages there is too much of the first personal pronoun, I wish it to be understood that with that personal pronoun I desire to couple the rest of the service, for without their loyal co-operation I could have done nothing. For instance, if our native plantations prove as satisfactory as they promise to be, this result will be due to the unremitting efforts of the Government Secretary, Mr. H. W. Champion, and the Inspector, Mr. G. H. Murray, with his assistants ; and the success of our native labour administration has been due to the industry and ability of Messrs. Bramell and Bell, the late and present Commissioners for Native Affairs, and their staff. And so on through the whole field of administration.

Some officers I have mentioned by name, especially the " outside men " whose work has called for particular

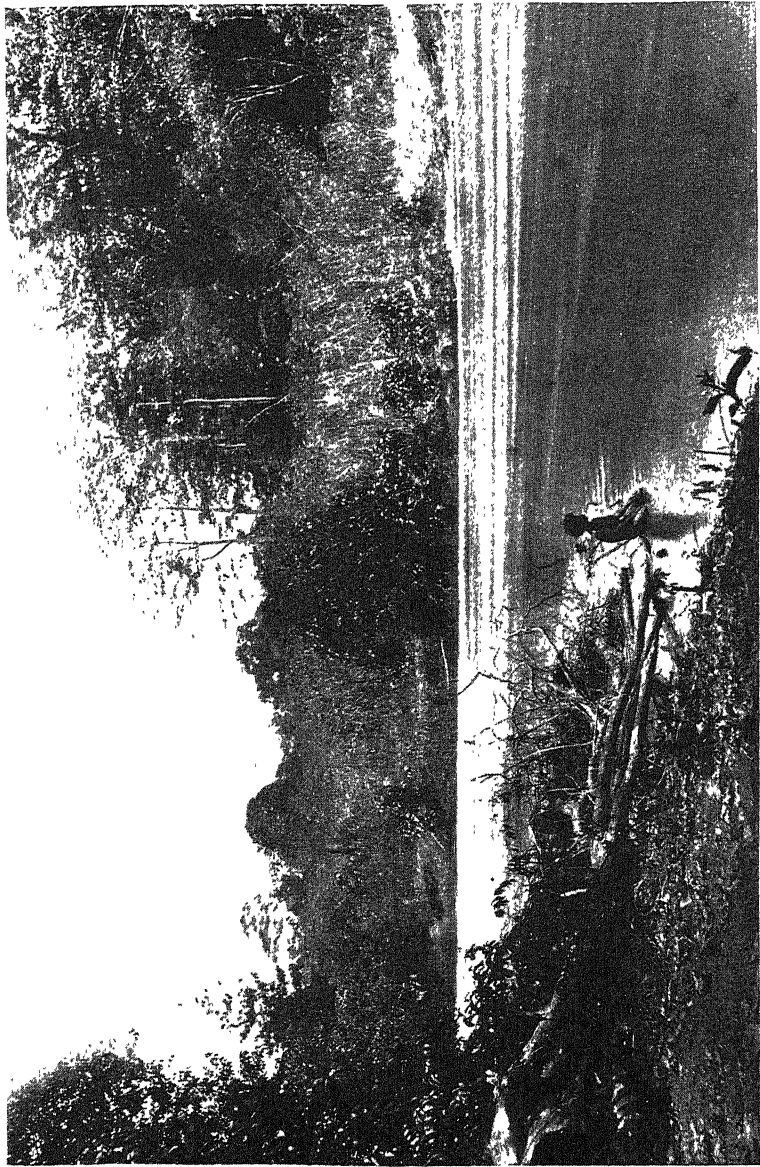
notice in connection with the subjects with which I have been dealing, but there are many others whose efforts have been equally valuable, although their duties lay in other directions, and any distinction between them would be invidious. All have done their duty in the past, and all have given the Territory their best, and given it unsparingly.

PORT MORESBY,

16 July 1924.

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LALOKI RIVER NEAR JUNCTION WITH EFOGI (GOLDIE RIVER), CENTRAL DIVISION

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH NEW GUINEA BEFORE 1907.

Description of the Island of New Guinea—Annexation of British New Guinea—Confusion of Names—Papua Act of 1905—Climate of Papua—Area and Configuration—Description of District between Fly and the Dutch Boundary—Mountainous Character of the Interior of Papua—Nature of the Soil—Rainfall—"Dry Belts"—Minerals—Petroleum—Early History of the Territory—Sir William MacGregor and Sir George le Hunte—Their Task a different one from that of the Australian Administration—Attempt by Sir William and Sir George to attract Agricultural Settlement—The New Guinea Land Syndicate—Gold Mining more attractive—Net Results of Eighteen Years Imperial Government—Clash of Interests between Capital and Labour had not yet arisen—Questions of Native Policy not yet touched—Responsibility for Native Administration in Papua.

THERE is a bird-shaped island lying to the north of Australia, with head turned to the west towards the Moluccas, and tail running down to the south-east. This bird-shaped island is Papua or New Guinea, the largest island in the world if you except Australia and Greenland. It is divided into three territories: the west, that is the head and half the body of the bird, is Dutch; the tail is British or Australian; and the rest of the bird is administered by Australia under mandate from the League of Nations.

Papua, the tail of the bird, has always been British. A protectorate was proclaimed in 1884, and the flag was hoisted at Port Moresby on November 6 of that year. Ten days later the German flag was raised at Kaiser Wilhelmshafen and German New Guinea came into existence; the western part of the island had long been in the hands of the Dutch, who claimed originally as suzerains of the Sultan of Tidore, so the partition of the bird was now complete.

Annexation followed in September 1888, and the

Protectorate then became the Possession of British New Guinea. The Government of the Possession was entrusted to Dr. (afterwards Sir William) MacGregor, who was appointed Administrator, and later, in 1895, Lieutenant-Governor. He held this office until 1898, and was succeeded in 1899 by Mr. (afterwards Sir George) le Hunte. Sir George was Lieutenant-Governor until 1903, when he was appointed Governor of South Australia, and after his departure from the Possession the Government was administered first by Mr. Justice Robinson, and afterwards by Captain Barton.

Finally, on September 1, 1906, the Possession of British New Guinea became the Territory of Papua and passed under the control of the Commonwealth of Australia. I was appointed Acting Administrator in April 1907 (I had been Chief Judicial Officer since 1904) and Lieutenant-Governor in November 1908.

Of all names probably Papua was as unfortunate as any that could have been chosen for the new Territory. Papua was really one of the geographical names of the whole island, including both Dutch and German New Guinea, and nothing but confusion could follow when the name of the whole was applied to a part ; but confusion became worse confounded by the selection of the name which was applied to German New Guinea when, at the end of the Great War, that Territory was handed over to the Commonwealth under mandate from the League of Nations. It may have been difficult to choose an appropriate name, but surely none could be less appropriate and more misleading than that which was actually selected. For the new Territory received the official title of the " Territory of New Guinea " ; and now the whole island is " Papua or New Guinea," and two of the three parts into which it is divided

are known respectively as "New Guinea" and "Papua."

A more fertile source of confusion could hardly be imagined, and it is not too much to say that, beyond those who are personally interested in the two territories, there are not a hundred people in Australia who can tell one from the other. If both territories were British this confusion would perhaps be of small moment; it might from time to time provide reason for exasperation or congratulation, as the case might be, to those personally concerned, but otherwise it would not much matter. But when one territory is British and the other under the League it would be as well to try to distinguish between them, for their forms of administration and their responsibilities are different; but, under the present system of nomenclature, the distinction is practically impossible for the general public.

The constitution of the Territory as established by the Papua Act of 1905¹ runs on much the same lines as in the Crown Colonies. There is a Lieutenant-Governor who holds office during the pleasure of the Governor-General of Australia, with an Executive Council not exceeding six in number, and a Legislative Council. The Legislative Council consists of the members of the Executive Council and three non-official members who are appointed by the Governor-General. This Council has power to make "Ordinances for the peace, order and good government of the Territory," but certain Ordinances must be reserved for the Governor-General's pleasure, e.g. Ordinances relating to divorce, Crown land, and native questions; and any Ordinance may be disallowed by the Governor-General

¹ A Bill to amend this Act is now (1924) before the Federal Parliament. It is likely that the number of members of the Legislative Council, both official and non-official, will be increased, and that a non-official member will be added to the Executive.

within six months of the Lieutenant-Governor's assent.

The Act provides that "when the white resident population is 2,000 or more an additional non-official member shall be appointed for each one thousand of such population in excess of one thousand." So far the population has not reached 2,000, but when it does the number of non-official members will automatically increase from three to four.

Papua has often been described and its general contour is probably familiar to most people. It is situated entirely within the tropics, between the fifth and the twelfth parallels of south latitude, and the climate is probably much the same as that of other countries similarly situated, save in so far as the mountainous nature of the interior provides a variety of temperature which is exceptional. European settlement is almost entirely confined to the sea coast, where the climate is hot and moist but not particularly unhealthy. The average mean of maximum and minimum temperature at Port Moresby is about 80 degrees, and the average humidity about 76 per cent.; the other coastal stations show about the same temperature, but a higher average of humidity.¹

¹ Hereunder are the averages for the last ten years (1913-23) :—

Station.	Average Temp. Mean of Max. and Therms.	Wet Bulb.	Dry Bulb.	Rel. Humidity. Per cent.	Mean Rain- fall, in.
Port Moresby	80.4	76.1	81.8	76	38.85
Samarai	79.4	76.5	80.8	80	115.10
Daru	80.2	76.0	80.0	82	76.39
Kerema	80.4	76.6	81.1	81	124.02
Hombrom Bluff (to 1917)	74.3	69.9	74.3	79	77.99
Buna	80.6	77.6	82.0	81	113.78
Kokoda	78.1	73.4	77.2	83	127.87
Losuia	79.0	76.9	81.7	80	138.72
Tufi	78.0	76.7	81.1	81	123.94



FISHING ON THE REEF, PORT MORESBY

The total area of Papua is approximately 90,540 square miles, of which 87,786 are on the mainland of New Guinea and the remainder on the d'Entrecasteaux Group, the Louisiades, and the other islands of the east and south. The Territory is about 800 miles long, and about 300 miles wide in its broadest part. This broadest part is in the extreme west where Papua marches with Dutch New Guinea ; from there it tapers down to a point at East Cape in the south-eastern extremity. For the purposes of comparison it may be useful to remember that the State of Victoria contains 87,884 square miles, England 50,851, and England and Wales together 58,324 ; Dutch New Guinea has an area variously estimated at 121,339 and 151,789 square miles, and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea about 91,000.

A lofty and extremely rugged range of mountains runs from the north-west of Papua, where the three territories meet, to the south-eastern end where it disappears into the sea, to emerge again as the islands of the Louisiades. Mt. Albert Edward and Mt. Victoria, the highest mountains in Papua, are both over 13,000 feet, and altitudes of 10,000 and 12,000 are not uncommon, most of them being in the eastern part of the Territory. To the west the mountains move away from the coast, and as you approach the Dutch boundary you come to a wide expanse of country consisting largely of swamp, drained by enormous rivers, and extending in parts nearly 200 miles before it reaches the foothills of the range.

The country west of the Fly, towards the Dutch boundary, is very different from the rest of the Territory ; for it is a flat country, reminding one very much of Australia. In the wet season it is flooded, but in the dry season, between the rivers, it is a sun-scorched and waterless desert ; police

patrols, and parties of natives travelling, have to carry water with them, and to drop out of the line of march may mean death from thirst.

The rainfall, according to Mr. A. P. Lyons, who was for many years Resident Magistrate in the Western Division and who is one of the few white men who know anything about this particular district, is fairly heavy throughout, but is confined to about three months of the year : hence the heavy floods of the wet season, and the intensity of the drought at the end of the dry months.

To quote Mr. Lyons again, " Good grass grows in the open forest country," this is in the southern parts of the district, " on which thousands of marsupials feed. However, towards the end of the dry season, the land becomes parched and bush fires burn up all vestige of food, so that many of the wallabies and other animals perish of hunger."

The mountain system, which I have described as running through the Territory from the north-west, is extraordinarily rough and precipitous, and a native can shout from one mountain village to another, giving notice of the approach of a party, who will take perhaps a day or a day and a half to cover the distance. Thus in the settled districts a Government Officer can order food for his police a day beforehand, and in country that is less settled or less friendly ample opportunity is afforded to elude the Government party or to oppose its advance. D'Albertis, the Italian explorer, expressed the opinion that it was easier to ascend the highest peaks of the European Alps with an alpenstock than to cross an ordinary hill in New Guinea, and D'Albertis was speaking of the comparatively easy country of the coastal districts ; he had never travelled in the interior and

had never known the extraordinary difficulties of the main range.

Occasional plateaux sometimes, but very rarely, vary the monotony of these rugged peaks ; where they occur the soil is usually fertile and suitable for agriculture, but the bulk of the mountain country is too steep for cultivation. The native gardens, if planted on the sides of the hills, and there is hardly anywhere else where they can be planted, are often washed away by the heavy rains, as soon as the scrub which holds the soil together has been cleared. A system of terracing might prevent this, but the expense would probably be prohibitive.

Between the mountains and the sea, both on the south and the north-east coast, is land suitable for coco-nuts and other cultures, and it is here that practically all the agricultural development has taken place. The soil is said to be patchy—it has had this reputation since the days of Sir George le Hunte—and much of it is too stiff and heavy for coco-nuts. Still the average is probably as good as most of the soil elsewhere, and the good patches are a great deal better, for the best plantations on both coasts will bear comparison with the best in other parts of the Pacific. It is said, probably with reason, that the most suitable areas for cultivation are to be found on Good-enough Island, in the d'Entrecasteaux Group, and in the large extent of flat country which stretches from the mountains to the sea in the extreme north-east of the Territory, on both sides of the Kumusi River, and generally between the valleys of the Hydrographer's Range and the Mambare, but unfortunately none of these districts have so far attracted the attention of settlers.

Rubber and coffee have been grown in the hills with success, both as regards quality and quantity of output,

but, as has been said already, the area suitable for cultivation of any kind in the mountain districts is limited. Coffee growing was unfortunately killed by the Australian duty, otherwise the plantations (they were very small) might have been much extended ; rubber cultivation still continues. Both rubber and coffee were first grown about 30 miles out of Port Moresby on one of the rare plateaux that offer opportunity for agriculture in the Papuan mountains.

The rainfall varies very much in different parts of Papua. Most of the stations show an average of over 100 inches a year, but the differences between stations, even on the same coast, are very great and very difficult to account for. So too the period of the wet season varies in a most extraordinary manner. The three wettest months of the year are, at Port Moresby, January, February and March ; at Samarai, March, April and May ; at Kikori, May, June and September ; at Woodlark Island, January, March and September ; at Daru, January, March and April. The highest average rainfall that has been recorded is at the Kikori station, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river of that name, which flows into the Papuan Gulf near Cape Blackwood. The yearly average of the Kikori station is 239 inches, and in the mountains of the Delta and Western Divisions it is probably higher still, if one may judge from the number and size of the rivers that come pouring down from the main range.

A rather curious thing in this usually well-watered country is the occurrence of two "dry belts," one on the south and the other on the north-east coast, the former extending for about 100 miles, the latter for not more than half that distance. Port Moresby is the centre of the former and is probably the driest place in the Territory, for the

average rainfall is not more than 39 inches in the year. These 39 inches fall practically all in a period of three or four months, and during those months the surrounding country is as green as young grass and vigorously sprouting eucalyptus trees can make it ; and then, when once those months are past, it become browner and drier and more and more bare, until it assumes all the worst aspects of Australia in a drought. And then comes the rain, and everything revives ; in fact it begins to revive some weeks before the rain, as the air collects more moisture and the evaporation decreases.

Various theories have been suggested to account for the existence of these dry belts. The one usually accepted is that at both these places, on the south coast and also on the north-east, the prevailing south-east wind, which comes moisture-laden from the sea, blows parallel to the coastal range and carries its moisture with it ; where the range turns in another direction, either to the east or the west, the wind strikes against it, the air, rising, becomes cooler, and the moisture is deposited as rain.

The mineral wealth of Papua, so far as it is known at present, is practically confined to gold and copper. Numerous other minerals have been found in small quantities, silver, for instance, and lead, zinc, cinnabar, iron, osmiridium, gypsum, manganese, sulphur, and graphite, but none have ever been sought commercially except osmiridium, small quantities of which are exported every year. Gold has been found in almost every part of the Territory, though not always in payable quantities. The best known goldfields have been on the northern rivers, the Yodda Valley, Woodlark Island (Murua), and the Louisiades : all to the east of Port Moresby. The only western gold-field is the Lakekamu Field, situated on the upper waters

of the Lakekamu or Williams River. Traces of gold can be found in many of the western rivers, but no other field has been discovered.

Copper has been found and is being worked a few miles from Port Moresby. There is an enormous belt of copper-bearing country in the neighbourhood, which we may hope to see developed as soon as the success of the present undertaking is assured.

Petroleum was discovered in the Gulf of Papua in the year 1911, but, though the examination of the oil-bearing country has proceeded continuously ever since, nothing of any commercial value has so far been discovered. The original policy was to keep the petroleum entirely in the hands of the Commonwealth Government and to develop the field through one of the Government Departments, but afterwards the work of development was handed over to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company under an agreement with that corporation. Finally, as neither method resulted in the discovery of payable oil, it was decided to throw open to private enterprise all but a block of 1,000 square miles situated in the district where oil was first found. It is possible that this method may prove more successful than that of reliance upon Government enterprise alone.

The old Possession of British New Guinea was fortunate in her Lieutenant-Governors, and both rose to high distinction in later years, Sir William MacGregor as Governor of Lagos (Nigeria), Newfoundland and Queensland, and Sir George le Hunte as Governor of South Australia and Trinidad. Sir William MacGregor in particular is well known as one of the great Colonial Governors of the British Empire, and the story of the magnificent work which he did has been told by me already in a book which I published

in 1912,¹ and by many abler pens than mine elsewhere. But his task in British New Guinea was in very many ways different from that which we have had before us in Papua. This is not said in any way in disparagement of the services he rendered ; I may claim to have had the privilege of his friendship, and I believe that he would have succeeded in anything that he undertook in Papua or anywhere else, but the main problems of administration were, from the nature of the case, different in his time from what they became later on. The examination of the country and the maintenance of order were practically the sole matters with which Sir William MacGregor and Sir George le Hunte had to concern themselves seriously ; and though these are still questions of the very greatest importance, they are not, and have not been, by any means the only difficulties which the Papuan Government has had to face.

One obvious and clear-cut distinction between the problems of the Imperial and Australian administration is that under the former there was practically no agricultural development. As a result there was practically no native labour question. There were, it is true, a number of " boys " employed in mining, but, except in times of sickness, when desertions are numerous, miners have rarely much difficulty with their " boys "—I suppose because the personal relation is more intimate than in the case of a plantation overseer and his gang ; and it was not until later, when agricultural development was well under way, that the difficulties which arise from the clash of " white capital and coloured labour " became acute.

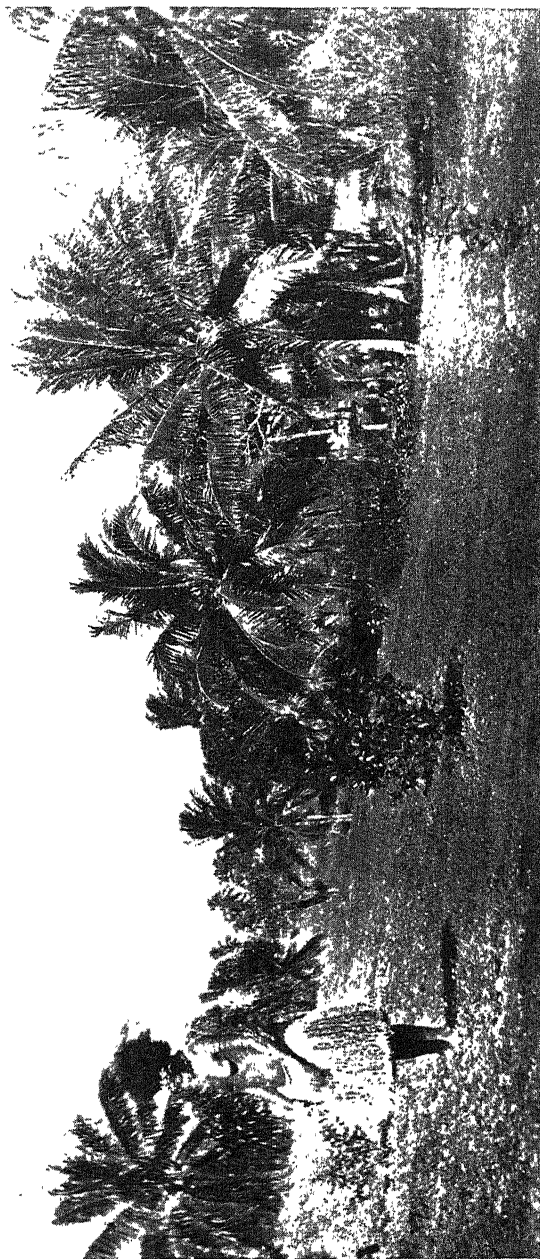
When Sir William MacGregor first came to Port Mores-

¹ *Papua or British New Guinea*. T. Fisher Unwin. 1912.

by in 1888 the Territory had hardly been visited, and the immediate task before him, after establishing the necessary nucleus of administration, was to explore this unknown country, and to find out what secrets lay hidden in these gloomy mountains, what strange tribes of men might be living on the upper reaches of these mighty rivers.

Such was his obvious duty, and it was a duty which he doubtless carried out with the keenest pleasure. Sir William was a natural born explorer, and did his work with a skill and thoroughness that must excite the admiration of anyone who knows anything about the Papuan bush. Rivers were examined, mountains ascended, and the Territory crossed from sea to sea, without a single failure and without the loss of a single life ; but a careful examination will show that all this work of exploration, with the exception of the ascent of Mt. Victoria, was subsidiary to his general scheme of administration and the extension of Government influence. The ascent of Mt. Victoria was undertaken in order to anticipate a probable expedition from outside, which it was thought would end in collision with the native population ; and in fact it had the desired effect. The method of exploration which is common in some countries of forcing one's way, by violence, through all opposition, regardless of the danger and difficulty which may remain for those who follow after, has often won applause from the ignorant, but was utterly condemned by Sir William ; he never turned back, but he never left a legacy of hate behind him after he had passed.

In later days exploration has also for the most part gone hand-in-hand with administration. There are but few instances in Papua of the merely spectacular explorer, who seeks out new country solely in order to have the satisfac-



VIEW OF PORT MORESBY

tion of saying that he was the first man there ; as in Sir William's time, the exploration has nearly all been part of a general scheme for the pacification and development of the territory. The difference is that since the days of the first Lieutenant-Governors the increase of business has left little time for the officers administering the Government to take part in these expeditions, and that the work has been carried out by Magistrates and patrol officers. The Territory is divided into eight divisions—the Western Division, the Delta Division, and the Gulf Division to the west of Port Moresby; and the Eastern Division, the South-Eastern, the North-Eastern, and the Northern Divisions to the east, Port Moresby itself being in the Central Division. In each of these divisions there is a Resident Magistrate with Assistant Resident Magistrates and patrol officers, and on them lies the responsibility of maintaining order and extending Government influence in their districts. Even in the time of Sir William MacGregor much of the work of exploration was done by these or similar officers ; under the Australian administration they do practically the whole of it.

The change has been forced upon us by circumstances, but it has been advantageous in many ways. I have been in Papua long enough to have had experience of both methods, and it is true that there has been a certain amount of overlapping ; for even now new villages are occasionally "discovered," and new customs unearthed, which we knew well enough some ten or fifteen years ago. But nevertheless the new method is the more effective, and the result is that a greater extent of country can be examined, and it is examined more closely than was possible under the old conditions.

"Administration," says Sir William, "does not appeal

to the imagination like exploration. The best work of an administrator is seldom heard of because it is not spectacular." So in the case of Sir William himself ; his name still lives in Papua, and it always will live, and his explorations are remembered, but what is forgotten is that these explorations were only part of his general administration. Few people, even in Papua, could give any detailed account of what Sir William really did in the Territory apart from some of the best known of his expeditions. I have seen the times of the Imperial régime generally, and of Sir William in particular, vaguely referred to as a sort of golden age in which planters had no difficulty in getting as many " boys " as they wanted, and in which the price of copra never fell. But in fact there were no planters in those days, and little or no copra was exported ; the great work of the early Lieutenant-Governors has merely been translated into terms of present-day problems, and the details of their achievement have been forgotten.

Sir William himself has said that " the finest and best institutions he left in New Guinea were the Constabulary and Village Police and the Missions." He certainly adopted the wise course, which has since been consistently followed, of endeavouring to co-operate with the Missions generally, instead of quarrelling with them (as has been done occasionally elsewhere) on unimportant details, and their success has perhaps been largely due to his encouragement ; but the Constabulary and the Village Police are entirely of his own creation. The system of chieftainship hardly exists in the greater part of Papua, and the Village Police, or Village Constables as they are usually called, were created in order to supply this want, and to form the connecting link between the Government and the ordinary

village native. The experiment has been entirely successful.

But, excellent as the regular Constabulary and the Village Constables have proved to be, their creation can hardly be taken as representative of Sir William's policy of administration. The general lines of that policy have been explained by the Lieutenant-Governor himself in the Annual Report for the last year of his Governorship (1897-8), and in his letter to the Governor of Queensland written in connection with the New Guinea Land Syndicate and published in Appendix I to the same Report. "The key-note of that policy," he writes, "has been to deal righteously and justly by the natives, to pacify the country, and develop it into a British colony." And at the end of his ten years' administration he expresses the opinion that the preliminary stage is at an end and that agricultural development may now begin.

"The establishment of some degree of supremacy" (he says in the Annual Report already mentioned) "was a preliminary essential to acquiring any extensive and exact knowledge of the physical nature and capabilities of the country. The advance made even in peace had to be executed with caution and patience, so as never to unduly imperil the prestige of the Government, which, had it during the first few years met with any serious reverse, might have lost all authority and control over other tribes than those it might have been compelled to retire before."

The necessary degree of supremacy had now (1898) been secured.

"The authority of the Government has been firmly established over extensive areas, and a considerable extent of country has been roughly examined, but only so as to give general information as to its capabilities. This latter task can now be proceeded with deliber-

ately and continuously. The colony is therefore in the condition of being ready for considerable agricultural development."

Sir William expresses the very definite opinion that agricultural development "is not possible without the intervention of Europeans." How far he would have been inclined to go in the encouragement of native agriculture is not clear; he aims at "helping to make the natives producers on their own account," and he passed a native regulation compelling the planting of a certain number of "useful trees," but he is emphatic in his opinion that "with the exception of coco-nuts, rubber from forest trees, and a few other articles, natives are not likely alone to ever add much to the exports of the colony." The question of native agriculture had in fact hardly arisen in Sir William's day, and indeed was not to arise till many years later; and the development which both he and Sir George le Hunte had in mind was certainly development by European capital and Papuan labour.

It cannot, I think, be claimed that there is anything particularly original in the policy laid down by Sir William, and his aims were in fact much the same as those of any British Administrator; his merit lies in the manner in which he carried out his policy. His explorations, as has already been said, were of a high order, the pacification of a considerable part of the Territory was carried out with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of bloodshed, a fairly liberal land law had been framed and a wise Native Labour Ordinance; and, if the offers made to intending settlers by Sir William and his successor attracted but little attention among those to whom they were addressed, the fault was certainly not that of the local Government. The risks of settlement were probably too great, and the rewards too uncertain.



PORT MORESBY

The Lieutenant-Governor himself seems to have been under no delusion as to the agricultural capabilities of the Territory.

"There are considerable patches of good land in the Possession here and there" (he says), "but it must be said of the soil generally that it is not rich. The natives, however, do not employ it to the best advantage; and in proportion to population there are, in all probability, more hungry people in British New Guinea than in any other country in the world."

It could not, however, have been a scarcity of good land that caused the failure of his attempts to promote settlement, for there was, and indeed still is, plenty of good land available; perhaps the uncertainty was too great, but in any case, the offers of land "made by the Government on favourable terms to persons of means . . . produced no considerable result."

Sir William has been accused of discouraging settlement, one of the commonest of the many charges that are brought against all administrators, and it is true, as he himself admits, that he did discourage certain applications; one of these was an application for a million acres, another for half a million, and a third for a grant of 254,080 acres with freedom from customs duties. There can be no doubt, I think, that he was right in refusing such applications as these, but there was another class of settler whom he also discouraged, and that was the small farmer class. Of this class of applicant he says: "One could not entice such a man, ignorant as he is of tropical agriculture, to his ruin in the Possession; he has been uniformly discouraged." It is perhaps questionable whether his action was right in the case of this particular class; but personally I consider that, under the existing circumstances of the Territory, it was fully justified. That he finally, and in despair,

encouraged and accepted the application of the New Guinea Land Syndicate was perhaps a mistake, according to Australian ideas, but, if so, it was a mistake which was caused entirely by his anxiety to promote settlement of some kind in the Possession.

This Syndicate consisted of a number of English capitalists who were anxious to develop the resources of British New Guinea, both agricultural and mineral, and indeed of every other kind, and their application eventually took the form of a Bill which was passed as an Ordinance—Ordinance 1 of 1898—and conferred on the Syndicate the right of purchasing 250,000 acres in fee simple, and other privileges of a rather unusual nature, such, e.g., as the sole right of purchase for a certain time of all available lands. This Ordinance, after a spirited controversy between the Lieutenant-Governor and Sir George Turner, Premier of Victoria, was finally disapproved by the Governments of the contributing Colonies, New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, and never actually became law. The scheme of settlement outlined in the Ordinance is one that would never approve itself to Australian opinion, but it would be unjust to Sir William to suppose that it is the kind of colonization that he would have chosen. "The tropical settler was sought first," he says, "and would have been preferred ; but as he was not obtainable a company had to be accepted."

Fruitless too were the very earnest efforts made by Sir George le Hunte to promote agricultural settlement soon after his arrival. It is a curious fact that his original difficulty was just the reverse of what had been Sir William's experience, and of what was to be his own later on, for at first he was at his wits' end to deal with the stream of land applications that came flowing in. "There are at present," he writes on July 24, 1899, "several applica-



BAMURU VILLAGE

tions from land or commercial syndicates for areas varying from a few thousand to 200,000 acres in different blocks," and he had but a little over 80,000 acres of Crown land to meet them all.

His policy was to increase this area of Crown land by purchase and by the appropriation of waste and vacant lands throughout the Territory, and to invite further applications in Australia and Great Britain. Sir George was fully alive to the danger of taking up land without a careful examination, especially in Papua, where, as he says, "it is doubtful whether much really good land is available in any one place"; but an influx of *bona fide* settlers was expected, and in view of the number of existing applications the expectation was reasonable enough.

The invitation was duly issued, but there was no response, and even the existing applications faded away. Perhaps the alleged deadly climate of the Possession had frightened intending pioneers, or perhaps fortunes were too easily made in Australia.

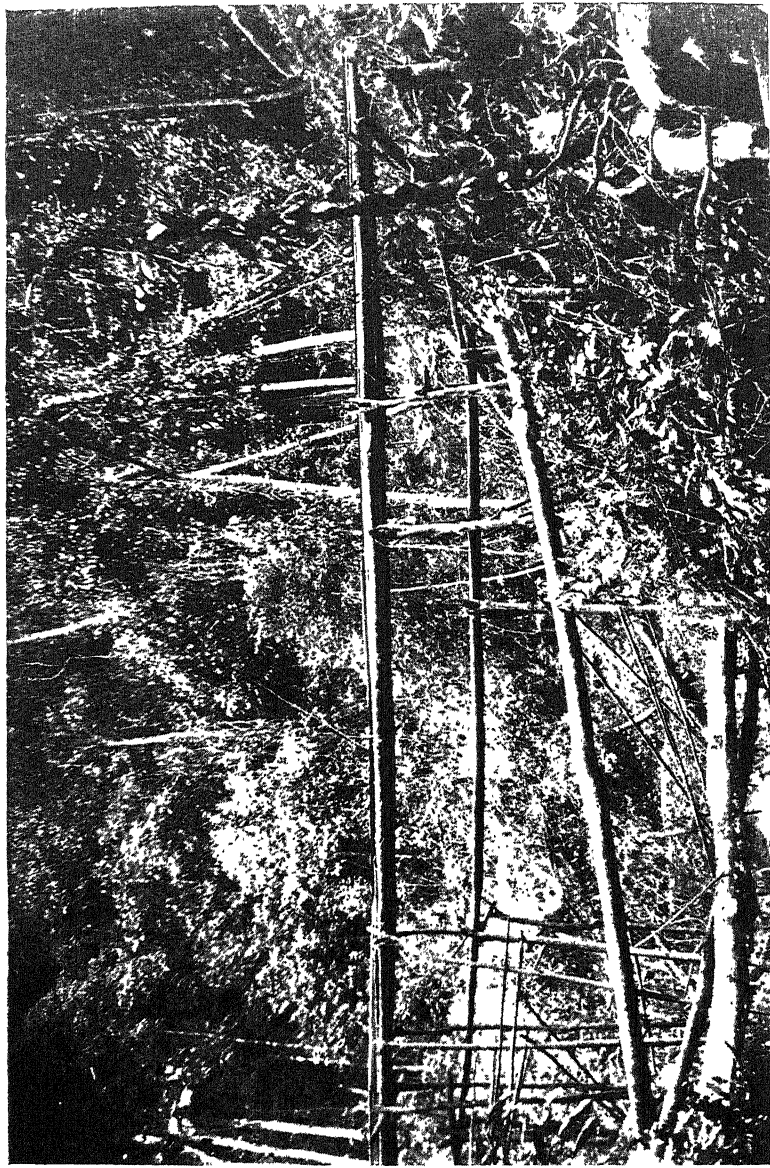
During all this time gold mining had been going on in the north-eastern and eastern parts of the Possession. Gold had been discovered in 1877 near Port Moresby by one Jimmy New Caledonia, and the usual rush had followed from Australia; but the Port Moresby venture was a failure, and the most valuable fields proved to be those of the northern rivers and of the islands of the South-Eastern Division. The mining, except on Woodlark Island, was entirely alluvial, and though a fair amount of gold was won in the aggregate, the incidental expenses were heavy. The life too was a hard and a wearing one, and it was almost impossible to go on continuously year after year, adding the savings of one year to those of the year before until at last a competency was collected; the

nature of the life—its hardships, its loneliness, its occasional dangers, and its entire lack of anything in the way of even the ordinary amenities of civilization—all this made prolonged “spells” an absolute necessity if health, or even sanity, was to be preserved, and during the “spell” the earnings of the previous period of work easily slipped away.

It must be admitted too that the type that goes looking for gold in an unknown country is not as a rule the type that can accumulate, and as a result perhaps of these different causes no one ever made his fortune by mining in British New Guinea. Still, though the death-rate among the miners in the early days was appalling, the attraction of the gold was irresistible, and more men came pouring in to take the place of those whom fever or dysentery had carried off. As time went on health conditions improved enormously, but still no fortunes were made; the gold was scattered over too wide a surface, or, as a miner once put it, “There is plenty of gold in Papua, but there is too much of Papua mixed up with it.”

It is perhaps characteristic of Australians that the glorious gamble of the goldfield should appeal to so many, in spite of the hardness of the life, the danger to health, and the scantiness of the average reward, while the humdrum routine of the coco-nut plantation attracted hardly anyone at all. Perhaps too the miner had a surer instinct, and realized that the true wealth of the Territory lies, as we are now beginning to suspect may be the case, in its minerals and not in its agriculture.

The net result of eighteen years of Imperial Government (from 1888 to 1906) was that much of the Possession had been pacified, and more of it explored, but that efforts to attract agricultural settlement had failed, though mining



MINING IN PAPUA FLUMING WATER ACROSS A RAVINE

had been fairly successful. The area pacified was of course not nearly so extensive as it is to-day, nor was the pacification so complete. It had been attended with difficulties which we can hardly realize, and there were even instances in which the police had been forced to retire before hostile bodies of natives.

Anyone reading the old reports must be struck by the difference between the language then used in describing the steps taken to extend the Government influence, and the language which would now be used by an officer in detailing an encounter which he might have had with some new tribe in the far interior. Thus, for instance, it was necessary in 1890 to go to Kabadi in order to "curb the natives of that tribe," and, as a result, "the chief was taken to Port Moresby in irons," and "the district was completely subjected to authority." In 1891 "the powerful tribes of Mekeo would not submit to Government authority without a preliminary struggle."¹ In 1893 "the subjection of Aroma may be regarded as complete. They fully and entirely admit the superiority of the Government." In 1894 the people of Darava (Table Bay) were followed up by the Constabulary, "but declined a regular pitched battle,"² and in 1897-8 "the arrogant tribes" of the Upper Brown River "are reduced to peace."

Nowadays the incidents would probably be exactly the same (except that the chief would perhaps not be taken to Port Moresby in irons), but they would be described in a different way, and this difference is not solely due to the prevalence of a less formal style of writing; it indicates, in my opinion, an entirely different conception of the task before the Government. We know now that the Govern-

¹ Annual Report, 1891-2, p. xvi.

² Annual Report, 1893-4, p. xviii.

ment party must win in the end, whatever hardship and even loss of life may be involved in the process, and the reason that we no longer talk of "arrogant tribes" and "pitched battles" is that such language seems to us rather out of proportion to the task we have in hand. But in the old days this was not so. The issue really was regarded as doubtful; no one quite knew what he was "up against," and the newly formed Armed Constabulary were to some extent an unknown quantity. Even as late as 1904, when I arrived in the Possession, it was considered rash to force an issue with the natives of the Purari Delta, and when this district was visited by the Acting Administrator in 1903 it was thought unwise to enter any of the villages without an express invitation.

The failure of their repeated attempts at agricultural development had saved the early Lieutenant-Governors many administrative difficulties, and the problems that are caused by the diverging interests of planters and native labourers had not arisen in their time. They arose thick and fast from 1907 onwards, as development increased, and were solved as they arose in accordance with what we believe to be the best traditions of the Empire; but in pre-Australian days these problems did not exist, for there were neither planters nor plantation labourers to raise them.

How they were solved will be told in the following chapters. And after them came various questions of native policy which could hardly be dealt with until peace and order had been established, at any rate through the greater part of the Territory. Such are questions of native taxation, native education, and native agricultural development, of the sanitation and improvement of villages, of ethnological investigation, and the encouragement of native custom and ritual in certain cases. These are problems

which have come into prominence during the period of Australian administration ; they raise the most thorny and difficult questions, where there is but little precedent to follow, and little previous experience to guide one, and where one must walk very cautiously lest perchance one go astray and be lost in some administrative cul-de-sac.

It should never be forgotten, in connection with the Australian administration of Papua, that, though the first Lieutenant-Governors gave us a fair start so far as they had gone, still it was only a start, for they had not gone very far. They had, it is true, always shown themselves sympathetic with native interests, and they had passed such Ordinances as that which forbids the use of liquor or opium by a native, and others designed to protect natives in their dealings with Europeans, as well as a liberal Native Labour Ordinance ; but nothing in the nature of a definite native policy had been formulated when the Commonwealth assumed control.

It was upon the Australian administration that the responsibility rested of laying down a policy not only between the native and the European, but also in relation to the natives themselves, so as to assist them towards a readier adaptation of their life to the strange situation which had been forced upon them.

The Papuan Government therefore, that is the Government which has been established since the Commonwealth assumed control, has had to deal not only with the exploration of a very large area of the territory, and the extension of Government influence over an area that is still larger ; it has also had to deal with practically the whole of the agricultural development and the whole of the native administration.

The native policy in particular has lain in the hands of the Papuan Government ; and according as we have discharged our duty in this particular the success or failure of our work will be determined.

CHAPTER II.

PYGMY PAPUAN AND MELANESIAN.

Two indigenous Elements, Papuans and Pygmies—Melanesians—Prehistoric Objects found in Papua—Statuettes and Obsidian Battle-axe—Pestles and Mortars—Theory of Migrations from Egypt in Search of Gold—Papuans all at same Stage of Civilization, but great Differences between Tribes—Languages of Papua—English adopted as the Official Language—Reasons for this—Penetration of Papua and Extension of Government Influence—Instructions to Officers—Casualties occasionally unavoidable—Papua sparsely populated—Inter-tribal Warfare—Difficulty of generalizing about Natives of Papua—Instances of Courage—Charges of Laziness and Ingratitude—Untruthfulness—High Standard for Native Conduct generally—Relations with Europeans generally Satisfactory—Alleged Want of Respect for the White Man—Bad Traits in Papuan Character—Papuan Courtesy—The Papuan a Good Mate.

ETHNOLOGICALLY New Guinea has been less closely studied than other parts of the world, though a good deal has been done of recent years, and is still being done, especially, in Papua, by the Government anthropologist Dr. Strong and his assistants, Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Williams.

Dr. A. C. Haddon of Cambridge is the leading authority on the subject. He tells us that the first inhabitants of New Guinea were probably

“a black woolly-haired race, of which the pygmy representatives (Negritos) are the Andamanese, the Semang of the Malay peninsula, the Aeta of the Philippines, and the pygmies of New Guinea ; the taller varieties are the recently extinct Tasmanians, the Papuans proper, and the ground stock of the Melanesians.”

The Melanesians are to be regarded as a mixture of Papuans with what Dr. Haddon calls “Proto-Polynesians.”

Themselves a mixture of Proto-Malays and Indonesians, these Proto-Polynesians, voyaging towards the Pacific, mixed with the black woolly-haired aboriginals, and gave them their language and some of their culture. The descendants of this union of Papuan and Proto-Polynesian are the Melanesians.¹

Thus the two indigenous elements are the Negrito or Pygmy and the Papuan. Pygmies have been found in Dutch New Guinea, in the Nassau mountains, but they have not been found, and probably do not exist as a separate type in Papua; though they have modified the Papuan type in certain districts, and possibly have also exercised a cultural influence.

That they have influenced the physical type is, I think, certain. In my book *Papua or British New Guinea*, which was published in 1912, I mentioned that Dr. Strong and myself measured forty-two men from the Mt. Yule district in 1906, and that out of this number eighteen were less than 150 centimetres in height (about 4 ft. 11 in.), which is I believe the pygmy limit, and some as little as 134½ and 138 centimetres (about 4 ft. 6 in. and 4 ft. 7 in.); while the average height was 5 ft. 1 in., and one man, a chief, was no less than 5 ft. 6 in. On these facts I suggested that these people might be the issue of a cross between the pygmies and a taller race; and this theory, which seems obvious enough, is, I believe, generally accepted.

Since then, in 1914, a party of six men were measured by Mr. Burrows, one of the Magistrates of the Papuan service, on the Upper Fly; these men apparently came from the mountains to the north-west—perhaps from Dutch New Guinea—and varied in height from 4 ft. 10 in. to 4 ft. 11½ in.

¹ But see an article by A. M. Hocart, *Journal of R.A.I.*, Vol. LIII, p. 472.

I am not aware that pygmies have been found in German New Guinea.

But while the physical influence of the Pygmy strain may be regarded as well established, their cultural influence is really nothing more than a matter of conjecture. So far as I have been able to learn, little is known either of the Pygmies of Africa, or of those of Malaysia. It has been suggested that Pygmy influence is strong in the Purari Delta, in the Gulf of Papua, and, for all I know, it may be. The natives of that district are certainly rather short, and they possess a very marked and distinctive culture, which may be of Negrito origin, though I do not know of any evidence that it is. The best descriptive of the Delta people is given by the Rev. J. H. Holmes in his book, *In Primitive New Guinea* (Seeley Service and Co., 1924), and by the Government Anthropologist, Mr. Williams, in *The Natives of the Purari Delta* (Port Moresby, Government Printer).

The general cultural drift in New Guinea has been shown by Dr. Haddon to have been from the north to the south¹; and a direct cultural drift from east to west has been assumed to account, for instance, for the fact that Kava is drunk in the east of the late German New Guinea, but only in the west of Papua.

The result of this combination of Pygmy, Papuan, and Proto-Polynesian is, roughly, that the greater part of the coast-line of Papua, east of Cape Possession and south of Cape Nelson, is inhabited by Melanesian-speaking tribes, while the rest of the mainland is held by a more purely Papuan population speaking Papuan languages. The islands of the east are also Melanesian, with the exception

¹ "Migrations of Culture in British New Guinea." Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1920, by Dr. A. C. Haddon, and see his Introduction to Holmes' *In Primitive New Guinea*.

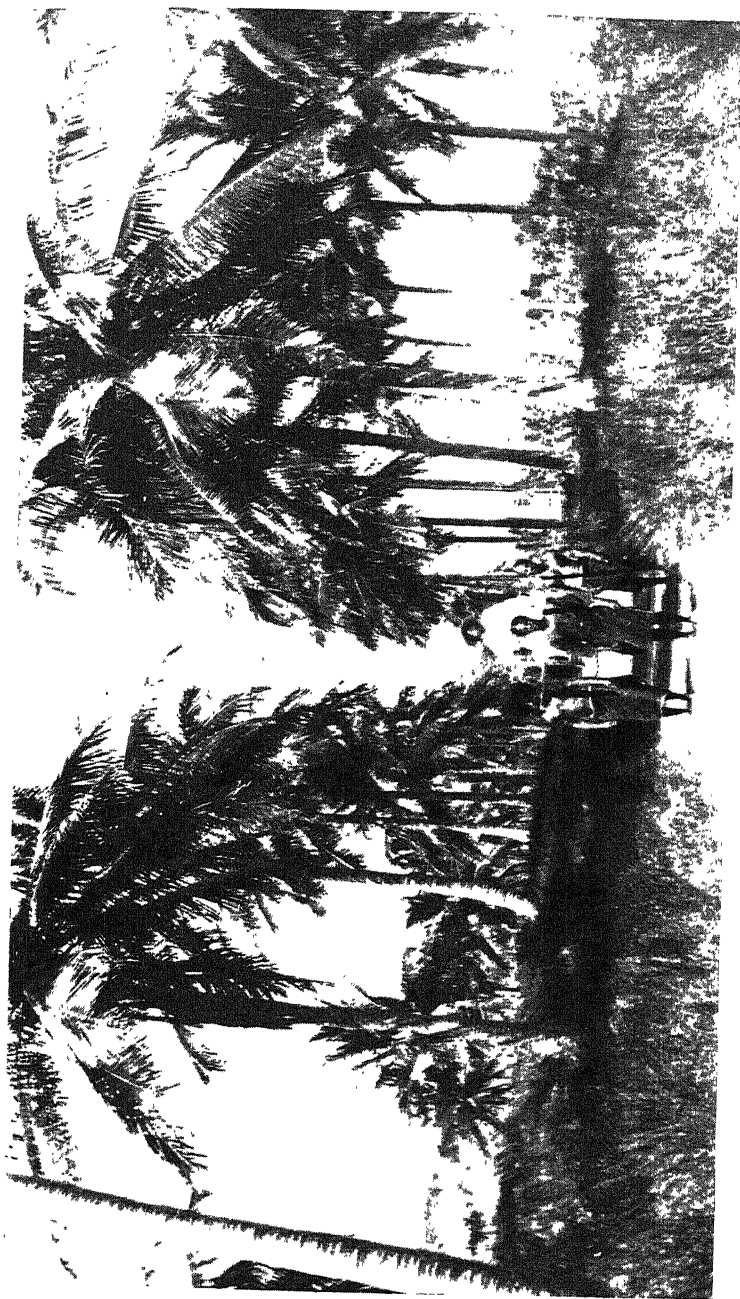
of Rossel Island, and perhaps Sud Est ; Rossel was protected by its remote position, and the Rossel Islanders keep their strangely sounding language and their rather eccentric customs almost intact.

Such is the usually accepted view of Papuan ethnology ; a very clear and more detailed account of the whole subject will be found in a Memorandum by Dr. W. M. Strong in the Annual Report for 1920-21.

A few objects have been found here and there which do not quite fit in with the story, and which, belonging to a different culture altogether, have been hard to explain on orthodox lines. Such are the pestles and mortars of stone that have been found in various places, generally through the excavations of miners, two stone figures or statuettes, and one or two weapons, such as obsidian spear-heads and an obsidian battle-axe, which was found on the Yodda Goldfield at a depth of 70 feet.¹

The pestles and mortars have been explained in various ways, but none of the explanations appear to me satisfactory, and the statuettes seem even more difficult to understand. One of the statuettes represented a bird with a long neck like a snake, and, so far as could be seen, for it was slightly damaged, a snake's head ; the place of the feet was taken by a ball, which suggested the explanation (to me quite improbable) that it was a pestle designed for ceremonial use. This strange object was said to have been found on the Gira Goldfield at a depth of 20 feet. The other, which I did not see myself, seems to have been still more remarkable. It was found by Mr. Meek, a naturalist, on the Giritu River near Buna Bay in the north-east of the Territory. It was,

¹ See *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 325. There are also some strange carved stones which have been found on the north-east coast. See Seligmann, *Melanesians of New Guinea*, p. 466.



COAST ROAD, PORT MORESEY

I believe, not dug up from underneath the surface, but was being used by the local natives as a garden charm. It was described as having

"the shape of the upper portion of a man's body, cut out in hard stone, and 20 inches in height. The elbows were well thrown back, and the hands were crossed on the chest. The head, if it were meant to represent the low type of the African negro, was good ; but, if meant for Melanesian or even Polynesian cast of countenance, it was not a good specimen. The eyes, nose and mouth were there, but little or no forehead, which ran back to a point at the back of the head." ¹

So far as I am aware there is no part of Papua where the natives work in stone, apart from the making and polishing of adzes and weapons ; stone figures, for instance, are not made anywhere, though of course wooden figures are common enough.²

D'Albertis mentions an object of stone called "Baratu,"³ but I have never been able to understand what he means, for the text, taken with the illustration, leaves it uncertain whether the "Baratu" is a piece of "defensive armour" or an arrow-head ; and, though I have been up the Fly and the Strickland more than once, I have found no stone armour, and of the hundreds of arrow-heads I have seen all have been made of wood or bone. I think, therefore, that I am justified in saying that the Papuan as we know him could not have even attempted to make either of the figures I have described.

For my own part, I do not think that the occurrence of the statuettes and the axe necessarily implies the existence of a superior race in Papua in bygone days ; these objects

¹ See Annual Report, 1906-7, p. 56. This description is not by a trained ethnologist.

² Human figures or heads in clay have, I believe, been found on the Sepik River in the late German New Guinea.

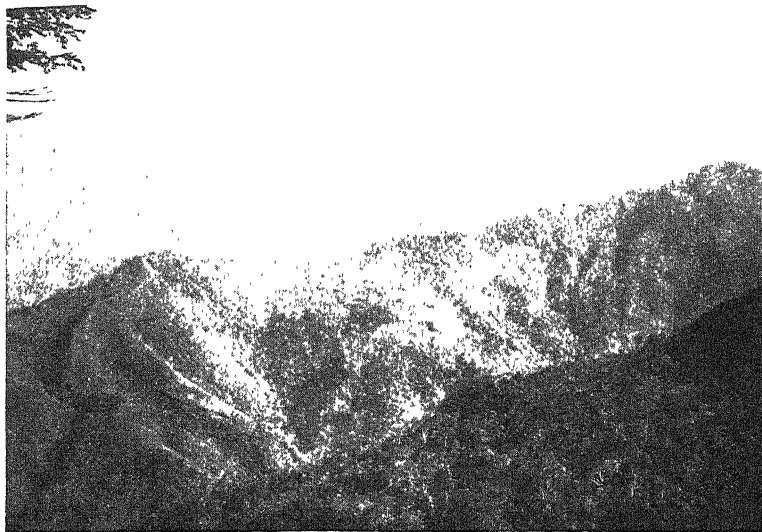
³ D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, Vol. II, pp. 135-7.

were clearly not made by the Papuans of to-day, but I do not know why we should assume that the men who made them, or who had them originally, were ever permanently settled in Papua. If they were one would expect to find more of these or similar objects ; but, as we find so few, they may easily have been left behind on the shore by any of the innumerable canoes and other vessels that must have passed by the coast of Papua, in the many migrations that have been going on during the centuries from Indonesia to the eastern and southern seas.

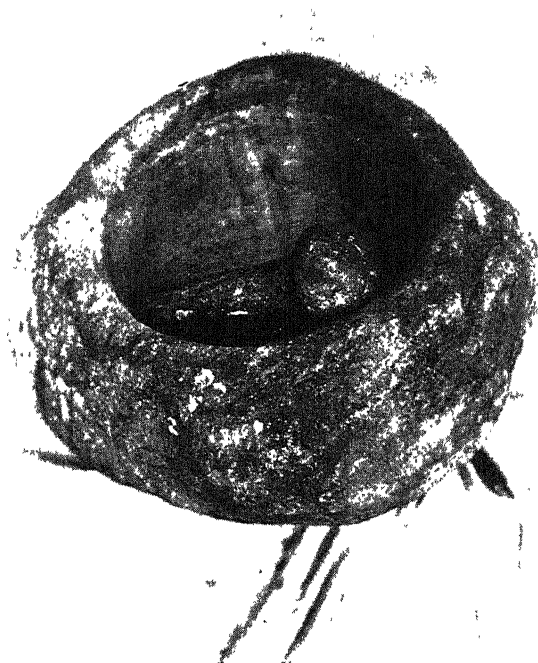
Such objects, once found, would be readily appropriated by any prowling Papuan, and might be transported to any part of the island to which the finder happened to go ; the fact that two of the three were found a number of feet underground is really of no particular value as evidence of age, in the absence of a scientific examination of the ground, for landslips are frequent enough in Papua. The obsidian spear-heads are less remarkable, for lumps of obsidian are frequently kept in the house by the natives of Collingwood Bay, and chips from these lumps are used for knives and razors.

The pestles and mortars cannot be so readily disposed of, and I think it must be admitted that these things really were in ordinary use at some time or other, but the difficulty is to ascertain what they were used for.

Various theories have been advanced, but they amount to little more than conjecture. Some, for instance, have said that the pestles were used for crushing rice, and others suggest a somewhat similar use for the cracking of the Okari nut of the Papuan highlands ; but there is no evidence that rice ever grew in Papua, and if Okari nuts were ever cracked in this way it seems strange that the practice should have died out so completely. The natives



MOUNT YULE KARUAMA VALLEY TAPARA VALLEY



PESTLE AND MORTAR OBTAINED IN THE BOLI DISTRICT, NORTHERN DIVISION.
BY WHOM MADE AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE IS UNKNOWN

themselves do not know who made these things or what they were made for, though they will of course grasp readily at any suggestion that the inquirer likes to make, as, e.g., that they were made by an extinct race.

The latest explanation is that they were used for crushing gold from quartz. This has been suggested in connection with the fascinating theory which has been put forward by Professor Elliot Smith, Professor Perry and others of migrations from Egypt in search of gold and pearls¹; but the suggestion raises some difficulties. The mortars are not found solely on the goldfields, though naturally more have been found on the goldfields than anywhere else, for the examination and excavation of the soil have been practically confined to those fields. And the further consideration arises that if these immigrants knew how to crush gold from quartz on the Papuan mainland they knew more about mining than their Australian successors, for so far no Australian miners have succeeded in this.

“Even the European” (says Dr. Strong²) “has never successfully crushed quartz for gold on the mainland of Papua; and if prehistoric wanderers have at all generally profitably worked gold in stone hand-power mortars, surely the present-day miner, with the help of machinery, would long ago have found some of these sources of gold-quartz, and Papua would have ranked as a great gold-producing country.”

It may be doubted, therefore, whether the pestles and mortars ever had anything to do with gold-mining. On the main question of the extension to Papua of the cultural influences which spread from Egypt, I do not consider myself competent to express an opinion. A strange

¹ See *Children of the Sun*, by W. J. Perry, p. 386, and *passim*. The map of Papua at p. 28 needs revision, and so do some of the statements about Papua, e.g., the statement at p. 98, that the natives neither manufacture nor use polished stone implements. In fact they do both; or did, until we gave them steel.

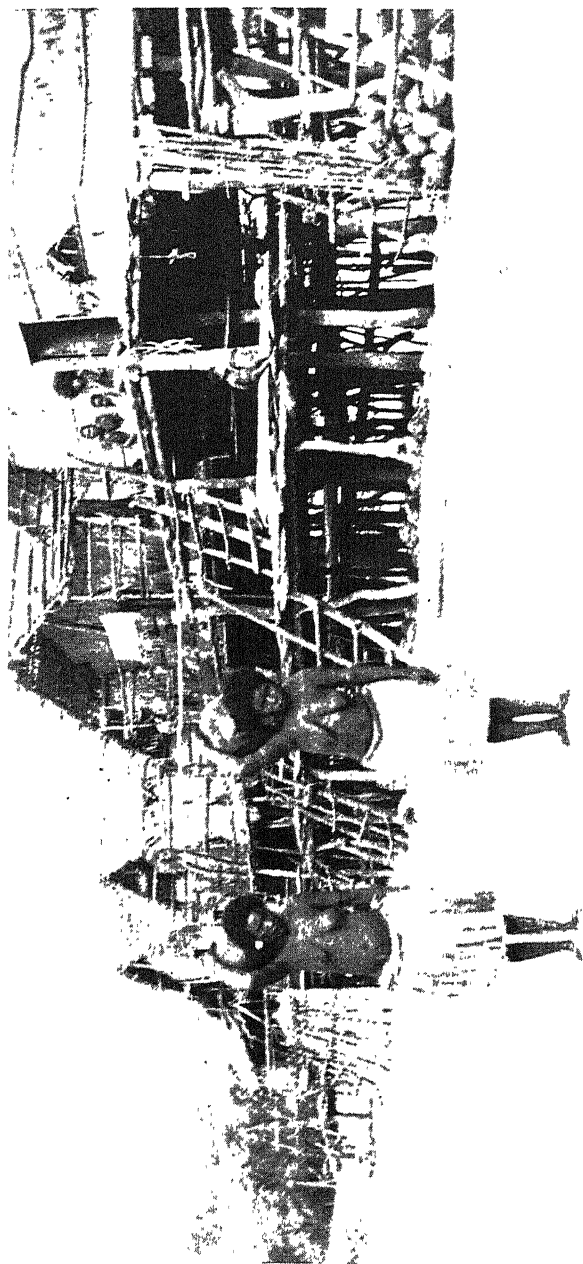
² Papuan Annual Report, 1920-1, p. 31.

dancing mask,¹ somewhat suggestive of an elephant's head, has been found at Goari Bari Island, and ornaments of cowrie shells² on that island and in the Samberigi Valley, a week or ten days inland ; these may be material to the question, but it all forms an anthropological puzzle which I, for one, have no pretension to solve. The Papuans, as we know them, have, so far as I am aware, no tradition of any higher culture in the past, except in so far as legends of heroes can be so interpreted. Primitives of the Neolithic Age, they have advanced to the stage of agriculture, have domesticated the dog and the pig, and possess settled homes and gardens ; they are unacquainted with the art of writing either by signs or pictures, but they have an elementary form of art which is expressed in painting and wood carving, and a still more elementary form of music which they produce from various instruments, such as drums, flutes, and mouth harps.

Thus it is true, roughly speaking, that all the natives of Papua are approximately at the same stage of civilization ; but they differ vastly from one another in appearance, character, and disposition. Some appear to be little inferior to an average European in general intelligence, while others seem to be hardly human. There are tribes living in the hideous morasses of the west who have no solid ground at all anywhere near them, and whose gardens consist merely of the few handfuls of earth that they are able to pick up from the roots of a fallen tree. In this miserable apology for a garden they coax a few wretched plants into a doubtful existence, but their ordinary food is

¹ See my book, *Papua or British New Guinea*, pp. 187, 204, for a photo of this mask. It is known as Awoto.

² In the Samberigi Valley the men wear a head-band of cowrie shells. It is called Tata or Homagi. A similar ornament on the upper Purari is called Borhi. See Elliot Smith, *Evolution of the Dragon*, p. 150 seqq.



PORT MORESBY VILLAGE—WATER CARRIERS

sago and grubs ; and these tribes are naturally inferior to those who live in more cheerful surroundings elsewhere. But even these types are susceptible of improvement when they are taken from their depressing environment, and the improvement might be made permanent if they could be persuaded to leave their swamps and to settle on higher ground somewhere else.

But, varied as are the types of natives, the Territory shows even a greater variety of languages. These languages are classified as Papuan and Melanesian, and a good general description of them is given by Dr. Strong in the Annual Report of 1920-1. Roughly speaking, the Melanesian languages are found in nearly all the islands of the east and south-east, and on the eastern portions of the coasts ; they do not as a rule extend far into the interior.

Mr. Ray, who is the accepted authority on this subject, distinguishes as Melano-Papuan some of the languages spoken in the islands ; these, he says, "in many respects agree with the Melanesian languages, but also contain numerous divergencies from the usual type." Such, for instance, are the languages of Woodlark, Misima and Sud Est.

In the rest of the Territory Papuan languages are spoken. These differ completely from the Melanesian, and other Austric languages. There is said to be some likeness between the Papuan languages and the Australian, but no genealogical connection has been established between them, nor has any greater success hitherto attended the attempt to connect Papuan languages with those of Halmahera or the Andaman Islands.

The Papuan and Australian languages meet, as might be expected, in Torres Straits. There are two languages in the Straits, an eastern and a western ; the latter is

Australian, the former, which is called Miriam, resembles in its grammatical formations some of the Papuan languages. To the east it is possible that Papuan languages may have once extended as far as the Solomons, for there are languages, on the islands of Savo and Vella Lavella, which not only differ in vocabulary from the ordinary Melanesian languages but which also show traces of Papuan construction ; and these facts may be taken as evidence of the existence in these islands of a pre-Melanesian language of Papuan type.¹ The languages of the extreme west of the Territory, beyond the Fly River, are of peculiar interest in view of a theory that they are, morphologically, Australian rather than Papuan. Vocabularies of these languages have been compiled, but are of little value in deciding this question, which depends upon structural peculiarities, and demands the most accurate interpretation.

The diversity of languages is a real administrative difficulty. The Melanesian languages resemble one another more or less, like the Romance languages of Europe, and a native who knows one can easily learn another ; but the Melanesian differ completely from all the Papuan languages, and the Papuan languages differ from one another—for there appears to be no stock Papuan language, and when one speaks of a Papuan language one really only means a language that is not Melanesian. There are, for instance, three widespread linguistic systems which meet about Mt. Scratchley in the interior of Papua—the Fuyuge, the Koiari, and the Binandeli : they are all Papuan languages, but there is, I believe, no connection between them, nor is there, I understand, any connection between any of them and Kiwai, the prevailing language of the Fly River mouth, or the Namau language of the Purari Delta. The

¹ See *Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, Vol. III, p. 522.

other Papuan languages of the interior are almost entirely unknown.

Under these circumstances the difficulty of choosing an official language is obvious. Motu, the principal language of Port Moresby, was suggested, and at one time it seemed probable that Motu might be selected ; but since the Royal Commission that visited Papua in 1906 English has been definitely and finally adopted.

The advantages of Motu are admitted. It is much more easily learnt than English, particularly by those natives who speak a Melanesian language, it is not very difficult even for the average white man, it spreads rapidly, and, in a corrupted or " pidgin " form, it is the common language of prisoners, police, and, to some extent, of native labourers. But there can be no doubt that the best thing for the native is that he should learn English. It is true that, in the transition stage through which we are passing, much of the alleged disobedience of natives is due to the fact that the employer has been unable to make them understand his meaning ; but the remedy is to go forward to English, not backward to Motu.

We arrived at this conclusion long ago, and I have been strengthened in my view by a passage which I have since found in Marett's book on Anthropology in the Home University Series.

" If there is a moral in this chapter " (he says) " it must be that, whereas it is the duty of the civilized overlords of primitive folk to leave them their old institutions as far as they are not directly prejudicial to their gradual advancement in culture, since to lose touch with one's home world is for the savage to lose heart altogether and die ; yet this consideration hardly applies at all to the native language. If the tongue of an advanced people can be substituted, it is for the good of all concerned. . . . ' Give them words so that the ideas may come ' is a maxim that will carry us far, alike in the education of

children, and in that of peoples of lower culture of whom we have charge."

The penetration of Papua has been made much more difficult by the diversity of language, but nevertheless it has, as a rule, been peaceful. It is not quite true to say that wild natives invariably regard a stranger as an enemy ; they will always look upon him with a certain amount of distrust, but it is an exaggeration to say that they will always be hostile. Certainly they will be hostile if they have been visited before and have been treated in the way in which natives too often have been treated, in the way in which Mr. Jukes, for instance, the naturalist of the Fly, treated the people of the Bamu River, whose pigs he stole, and D'Albertis the Fly River natives, whom he defrauded of a number of skulls (probably of relatives) which they had in their possession. It may be remembered that when Sir William MacGregor visited the Bamu forty-five years later he found that the natives whom Mr. Jukes had robbed were still hostile and disinclined to make peace.

But, assuming that neither a Jukes nor a D'Albertis has been before you, your reception may be quite friendly, especially if you have anyone in your party who can serve as an interpreter. Generally you can find an interpreter, especially in the mountains. Mountaineers travel great distances in time of peace to dance and feast with surrounding tribes, and in this way some of them pick up a serviceable knowledge of the neighbouring languages ; but on the Fly and the Strickland I have found it impossible to communicate with the more remote tribes except by signs. The languages of the Lower Fly are quite unintelligible to them.

Naturally, on seeing a party of white men and police, these people will fly to arms. They may then either make



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panic-stricken for the bush and safety as fast as their legs or their canoes can take them, or they may stand and prepare to fight. If they run away it is generally a long and difficult task to induce them to come back ; but, if they stand their ground, a confident manner and a display of presents will often disarm their hostility. Very often they will not actually show fight, but will simply remain in the village, of course fully armed, and consumed with curiosity to know why these strange ghost-like creatures have come to them—who they are and what they are seeking. Then if you have some common language you can probably give a more or less satisfactory explanation of the objects of your visit, but, if you can not talk at all, you may be in a difficult position. In that case the only thing to do is to “ hang on ” and to look as friendly and as amiable as you can, and to take the chance of an odd arrow that may be let fly by some suspicious person of conservative views who does not like the look of you. We found on the Fly and the Strickland that if we persevered, and nothing untoward happened, we could rely upon making friends with the people at last, though even now we cannot speak to them nor they to us.

It must be remembered, however, that there is always a party in the village that is hostile ; this party is satisfied with things as they are, and is convinced (and I must say with a good deal of reason) that no good can come from having any intercourse with the strangers. And, if this party happens to be the more numerous or to get the upper hand for a time in the councils of the village, there is sure to be trouble ; and, as one can rarely know how things are shaping in the village, it is well to be always on your guard and not to split up your small force more than is necessary.

The disappearance of women and children is a bad sign ; but the converse is not always true. That is, you cannot argue that there is no danger, because the women and children remain, for the women and children sometimes assist by bringing up fresh stocks of spears and arrows ; and, further, an exaggerated display of friendliness, with women and children as an applauding crowd, may be part of a deliberate scheme to put your party off their guard and catch them unawares. We once experienced this on the Upper Fly, but fortunately the joy of the natives in welcoming us to their village was very much overdone ; it was inconceivable that anyone, black or white, could really be so glad to see us, our suspicions were consequently aroused, and we took precautions accordingly.

By care and patience one can generally get through without resorting to violence, but occasionally it becomes quite impossible to avoid an attack, and then of course the police must be prepared to defend themselves. This necessity does not often arise where the object in view is simply exploration or the extension of Government influence ; instances are more frequent when a party is sent out specially to make arrests in connection with some criminal offence. Of course the difference is that in the former case the object of the patrol is not hostile, whereas in the latter, so far as the natives can understand, it certainly is. Hence most of the casualties occur in connection with the arrest of criminals ; there are unfortunately a certain number of them every year, and, as might be expected from the disparity of armament, the police casualties are few. An inquiry is held in all cases where a native has been killed. It is usually, from the nature of the case, a partial and imperfect investigation, for we can rarely get any evidence from the other side ; but, on such evidence

as we can get, it seldom happens that there is any doubt whether the homicide was justified. Where there is such a doubt the policeman is put on his trial in the ordinary way.

Instructions have been issued for the guidance of Government officers in these matters. These instructions are to the effect that there are only three cases in which life may be lawfully taken—in self defence, including of course the defence of police and carriers and others; for the purpose of preventing an escape in certain cases; and in overcoming forcible resistance to arrest. Officers are particularly cautioned that “they can never, under any circumstances, be justified in firing upon natives by way of punishment.”

Generally speaking, it may be said that neither officers nor police exceed the limits laid down, and that it frequently happens that they do not act up to them. That is to say, cases frequently occur where both officers and isolated police would have been fully justified in firing, but have not done so; preferring to run a very decided risk of death rather than take advantage of the superiority of the rifle over the spear, in a case where it might conceivably be thought unnecessary.

It is impossible to extend the influence of the Government by entirely peaceful methods, for probably those who oppose our advance represent all that is best and most vigorous in native life, and such men will not yield except to force. But we believe that as few lives are sacrificed as the nature of the task will permit.

Papua is sparsely populated. There are some large villages on the coast and up some of the rivers, but their size has been very much exaggerated, and the largest has hardly more than 2,000 inhabitants. Then behind these

coastal villages comes as a rule a belt of country that is very thinly peopled, and then come the mountains. Villages are numerous in some parts of the mountains, but they are generally very small, and the total population of the hill districts is inconsiderable.

The reason for this scanty population is not that the country will not carry a greater number ; it is due partly to the habit of small families which obtains throughout Papua, and partly to the constant inter-tribal raids and murders, which not so long ago prevailed over the whole territory and even now occur in the districts to which Government influence does not extend. The latest theory of population seems to be that there is always an " optimum number,"¹ that is " a certain density of population which will be the most desirable from the point of view of return per head of population," taking into account " on the one hand the known arts of production and on the other hand the habits and so on of any people at any one given time in any given area." And it is said that the actual population will tend to be somewhere about this " optimum number." It is difficult to see how this can be fitted into the case of Papua, with its empty spaces which could easily support two or three times the present population; and probably an exception to the theory of the " optimum number " must be allowed where the vendetta flourishes as in Papua, and inter-tribal warfare is almost the normal state of existence.

For instance, if you go up the Strickland River for 200 miles above its junction with the Fly, you will find that the last hundred miles show no sign of human life, though apparently the land is quite suitable for cultivation, and could carry a large population.

¹ See *The Population Problem*. Carr Saunders, p. 200.

And there is evidence that not long ago it did carry a population, for the Bonito party found natives there in 1885, and so did Mr. Baker, a Magistrate of the Papuan Service, in 1913. In 1917 we found no one. It is of course possible that they may have moved elsewhere, for they are semi-nomadic, but it is at least equally possible that they had exterminated each other. Their habits, as Mr. Baker found them, certainly suggest the latter explanation. About three days above the Herbert River he arrived at a large native camp or village. "We counted," he says, "between 50 and 60 large canoes at the village and along the bank on the opposite side in a bend in the bank. There were very few men about, but a considerable number of women, some of them making sago." There was a general scatter when the white men arrived, and Mr. Baker investigated the camp. It was a large encampment, with accommodation for from 500 to 600 people. A large quantity of tobacco was lying about, done up into bales measuring from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. in length, and 12 in. in diameter, but the most striking thing about the camp was the large number of fresh heads "in process of preparation," which, according to Mr. Baker, "consisted primarily of tying them up in leaves, and allowing the cockroaches to do the rest." Farther up the river the party met the men of this village coming home from a raid, and the next day came upon the scene from which the raiders were returning.

"A fair-sized native encampment appeared in sight on the west bank, and on coming close it was seen to be deserted. It had evidently been a sago-making place. The mud bank was cut up by feet, as if there had been a considerable number of people, and as if there had been struggling, and on the beach close to the water's edge were the bodies of two or three women, minus heads and arms, and from the condition of things the massacre could only have hap-

pened a short time previously. In addition the bodies were horribly mutilated, stakes about 3 in. in diameter having been driven down from the neck through the trunk. The bodies were also flayed below the breasts. The camp was stripped of everything."

Practices such as these are not conducive to an increase of population, and perhaps it is not to be wondered at that the banks of the Strickland, when I was there, bore no trace of human existence.

Difference of race, difference of environment, and perhaps even difference of language, react on one another to produce the strange mixture of types that we find in Papua to-day. So varied is the mixture that it is almost impossible to describe it. *Latet dolus in generalibus*, and particularly deceptive, I think, are any general statements about the natives of Papua.

For instance, remembering the nervousness which they sometimes show when there is no particular danger, one is tempted to describe them as timid, but then one remembers that Sir William MacGregor has described the Papuan "Ginger" as the bravest man he had known, and that he selected the Papuan Sedu, on account of his courage, to be one of the supporters of his coat of arms. "Ginger" was the hero of many valiant exploits, and Corporal Sedu, when Mr. Green was killed on Tamata Creek, had a clear chance of escape, but preferred to go back and die with his officer and his comrades.

I have been out hunting alligators with Papuans; part of the process consists in walking through swamps of any depth from three to five feet, feeling under the water for these creatures with a long stick and also with one's feet. I have prayed fervently that I should not find the beasts, and I have been far more nervous than any native present, and my European companions have told me that their

feelings were the same ; and yet I do not suppose that we were timid beyond the average.

Perhaps we exaggerated the danger, and in any case the natives were used to it. But then one remembers that Sedu confronted danger of a kind that no man can get used to—for no man gets a second chance. And then on top of reminiscences of “Ginger” and Sedu come crowding the innumerable instances of native heroism in cases of boat accidents and danger of death from drowning ; and one comes eventually to the conclusion that they are not so timid as one thought. And so it is with almost any other generalization ; the exceptions are so many that the rule loses its value.

Many vices are laid to the charge of the Papuan, but probably accusations of laziness, untruthfulness and ingratitude are the most common.

There is no doubt that the first time one sees a Papuan at work the thought that occurs to one is that the slowest and most deliberate “Government stroke” is feverish activity in comparison. And so it is. But still it almost invariably happens that those who have studied a native race most closely are precisely those who repudiate most strongly any suggestion that the native is lazy. Here, for instance, is what Mr. Armstrong, Assistant Anthropologist, has to say in the Annual Report for 1921-2.

“But without a doubt the native is not lazy, though there are, of course, lazy natives, and, in some parts, a more or less leisured class of chiefs. This attribution of laziness to the native has, no doubt, arisen in the minds of employers from the study of their employees, working under what are, for them, exceptional conditions. That a native, doing the eternal round of uninteresting work on a plantation or mine for 10s. a month, should try to dodge this work, indicates intelligence rather than laziness. The same native, in his natural environment, would, no doubt, make sago with an expenditure of

energy almost unknown amongst white men. The clearing of land for gardens, the building of fences, making of canoes, houses, and fish nets, fishing, preparations for feasts, find ample employment for the native in the village and leave little room for laziness."

Probably, as I suggested in the same Annual Report, we adopt a wrong standard of comparison. "Do you think that you are a white man?" one native has been heard say to another, "do you think that you are a white man that you sit there and do nothing?" And it is certainly interesting to find one self one of a group of white men, sitting in easy chairs and smoking cigarettes in a shady veranda, and at the same time railing at the indolence of the natives who are toiling in the sun outside. "It seems to be a habit of some people to describe the Melanesians as lazy," says the Rev. W. J. Durrad in a recent collection of essays on the depopulation of Melanesia.¹ "Experience has led me to feel that the Melanesian's manner of working is the only possible one if one is to live for any length of time in these islands." In the same way it would be idle to expect from a Papuan the energy and activity displayed by Europeans in the temperate zones; the Papuan works and works hard, but in a different way. If he had possessed, and could have retained, the restless energy of the European or the North American, he would have conquered the world of the tropics long ago.

It is of course a commonplace of native administration that the establishment of law and order and the introduction of metals make the natives' life much easier than it was before, and so fosters the tendency to laziness, which is innate in most men; but in the case of the Papuan native

¹ *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*. Edited by the late Dr. Rivers. Cambridge University Press. See p. 18.



HUMAN HEAD—FLY RIVER

any such tendency is corrected by the various activities which a paternal Government, generally very much against his will, imposes on him. It is true that he is not now under any necessity to be ready to protect himself against attack at any hour of the day or night, and that steel tools enable him to do his work in a fraction of the time that it used to take, but it is also true that he has a host of duties and "fatigues" that were never heard of in the old days.

First of all he has to earn his tax, which may mean a month's work or even more, or he may have to do his share of labour in the village plantation, he must keep his village clean and his house in repair, and even build another in its place at the bidding of the Government, and he must carry for the Government when called upon; and, in addition to all this, he has, by hunting and fishing, and, with the assistance of his wife, by agriculture, to support her and himself and probably a family of two or three, as well as, perhaps, to do his share towards the maintenance of the families of relatives who have "signed on" to work on mine or plantation.

This is certainly a formidable list—sufficient at any rate to dispose of the usual complaint that the native lives a life of idleness—and it has even been suggested, from the opposite point of view, that the native is nowadays so hard pressed by the advance of a strange civilization, in addition to the tasks imposed by the Government, that he may be unable to attend to his gardens and that his food supply may be injuriously reduced. This view is no doubt useful as reminding us that there must be a limit to native industry, and is certainly a relief from the old criticism, which was so common up to a year or so ago, that we were ruining the natives by encouraging them to live in idleness; but

it must be remembered that the Government *corvées*, though numerous, are small, and occur usually at long intervals. So that I do not think that it can be successfully argued that the natives work any harder than they did in the old days, when there was no Government to impose tasks upon them, but when they had no steel tools to work with, and no protection from their enemies ; nor, as a matter of solid fact, do I believe that the tax, or the works imposed by the Government, have the slightest effect in limiting the quantity of food available for consumption. After all, rice is food, and so are coco-nuts, and the principal Government *corvée* is in connection with these cultures.

But while I do not think that it can be seriously contended that the native is over-worked, and though life is much easier in some districts than in others, he is by no means the man of leisure that he is often represented to be. The truth is, I think, that, when a native is called "lazy," what is generally meant is that he is not fully occupied in working for a white man ; work done for his family, for his village, or for himself goes for nothing.

There is perhaps more ground for the charge of untruthfulness, though even here we should first remove the beam from our own eye, for truthfulness is not a very common virtue even among Europeans in cases where telling the truth is a disadvantage—for instance, where it involves the loss of money. Lying is, however, peculiarly the vice of subject races. Deceit is the only weapon which these people have, for they dare not use force, and furthermore it is all important to them to keep their masters in a good humour ; consequently the Papuan will often say what he thinks the white man would like him to say, quite irrespective of whether it is true or false.

Personally, however, I think that fully half of the alleged "lying" by Papuans is nothing more or less than misunderstanding caused by linguistic difficulties, native forgetfulness and stupidity, and bad temper on the part of the Europeans concerned. Few Papuans, except those who have been well taught at school, have any real knowledge of English. They know some words relating to the particular work in which they are engaged—seafaring, planting, house service, etc.—but they know little or nothing else, and even those few words are usually unintelligible when shrieked at them by a white man in a passion; on such occasions they lose their heads, answer at random, and are promptly classified as "liars," the epithet being probably preceded by the adjective which is supposed to make everything that follows so abundantly clear to even the meanest capacity.

Again the natives are often stupid and indifferent—and indeed why should they take an absorbing interest in work which they are doing for another at a wage of 4*d.* a day? They easily forget details and, when questioned in a language which they imperfectly understand, will give any answer that occurs to them merely in order to save trouble, and with no definite intention to deceive. It is often said that the raw bush native is more truthful than the native who has been civilized. One would expect this to be so, for the latter would probably have begun, however dimly, to realize the tremendous power of a lie, and to avail himself of its assistance more readily than his less sophisticated brother; but I do not know that it really is the case. I cannot call upon my own experience to support it.

The fact is that we expect too much from the native; we quite forget that he has only recently emerged from

utter barbarism, and we expect from him far more than we ever ask from a white man, and far more than we are ever likely to get from any one, black or white, in this world.

The native is sent to jail if he plays cards, if he touches intoxicating liquor, and if he commits adultery, and in my opinion it is quite right that he should be sent to jail ; but the standard is pretty high, as post-war standards go. And so it often is in the alleged cases of ingratitude, and in other matters. The native is expected to be ready to serve the white man at any time of the night or day, he must be scrupulously honest and truthful, he must neglect his own business in order to " sign on " as an indentured labourer, he must be always ready to sell his land at the convenience of white settlers, he must always be good-tempered, and he must always cheerfully submit to the bad temper and worse manners of his racial superiors ; and if he fails in any of these he is held up to public execration.

We all make this mistake, and I myself, I know, at least as much as others ; but missionaries are perhaps the worst of all. They seem to expect results, especially in the way of sexual morality, which they will probably never get, or at any rate not for many generations to come.

One would expect a priori that sexual passions would be less strong among primitive races than among the more civilized, and there is, I believe, actual evidence that this is so¹ ; but on the other hand the primitive has not developed self-control to anything like the same extent, and to expect from him the same restraint as from an average European is merely to court disappointment. In justice, however, to the Papuan I must admit that the Rev. J. H. Holmes, in his recent book *In Primitive Papua*,² pays a very high

¹ See Carr Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 97.

² Seeley Service & Co., 1924.



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tribute to the sexual morality of the natives of the eastern side of the Gulf of Papua, the district commonly known as Elema. Mr. Holmes, who has the reputation of being a particularly careful observer, says at page 52 of his book : " It may be a matter of surprise to state that the standard of sexual morality of these barbarian monogamists was infinitely higher than is known in any civilized land to-day." These tribes, however, must, I think, be regarded as exceptional ; the ordinary Papuan, like the African converts of Cardinal Lavigerie, will advance, no doubt, but only with frequent falls—*de chute en chute*.

The relations between Europeans and natives in Papua have on the whole been very satisfactory. Murders and massacres of white men were common enough in the early days, and on page 39 of the Annual Report for 1886 will be found an appalling list of outrages, compiled by the Honourable A. Musgrave, Assistant Deputy Commissioner, and extending from 1845 to 1886 ; but ten years later Sir William MacGregor was able to say, " It continues to be a matter for congratulation that the relations between Europeans and natives have remained perfectly tranquil." ¹ This has been largely due to the character of the white residents, to whom Sir William in his final report, on leaving the Territory in 1898, pays a high and well-deserved compliment ; but it has been also brought about, if I may quote the same authority again, by the " quiet way in which the natives are falling into the use of courts and beginning to understand them." ²

These satisfactory relations have continued until the present. There are, and I suppose always must be, a certain number of Europeans in the Territory who might be quite good citizens in a " white man's country," but

¹ Annual Report, 1895-6, p. xxviii.

² Annual Report, 1897-8, p. xi.

who are temperamentally unfitted to resist the peculiar temptations offered by life in the tropics among a native population ; but, on the whole, considering the great gulf between the races, the difficulties of language, and the fact that the interests of the white man and the natives are usually diametrically opposed, it is, I think, surprising that they get on together so well as they do.

Minor points of friction are of course common enough. Some have already been noticed, and another very common one is the alleged want of respect by the native for the white man, and consequent loss of the latter's prestige.

I am afraid that all through the tropical world the native races are beginning to find us out, and that perhaps they have not so much respect for us as they had even a generation ago ; but probably this is less the case in Papua than elsewhere. It has always seemed to me that there is only one way to earn respect either from black or from white, and that is to deserve it, and that in every community there are a certain number of men who do not deserve respect and consequently do not get it ; and there are a few of this kind—not many I am glad to say—even in Papua. A man who is a drunkard, who habitually uses foul language, who is dishonest in his dealings with natives, and unrestrained in his relations with their women, will not be respected, and I cannot see that it is desirable that he should ; the native should rather be encouraged to realize that such a type is not representative of the superior race.

It is likely enough that individual natives are “ cheeky ” and disrespectful—probably they have been spoilt by bad example—but as a rule if a white man is not respected by the natives in Papua you may be pretty sure that he has done something to forfeit their respect. There is, I

am told, a saying among the Port Moresby natives that you should treat a white man as he treats you, which probably pretty nearly hits the mark ; for the white man who mauls his boy about affectionately one moment and curses him for a black blank the next cannot claim to be classed with one whose conduct is more consistent and restrained.

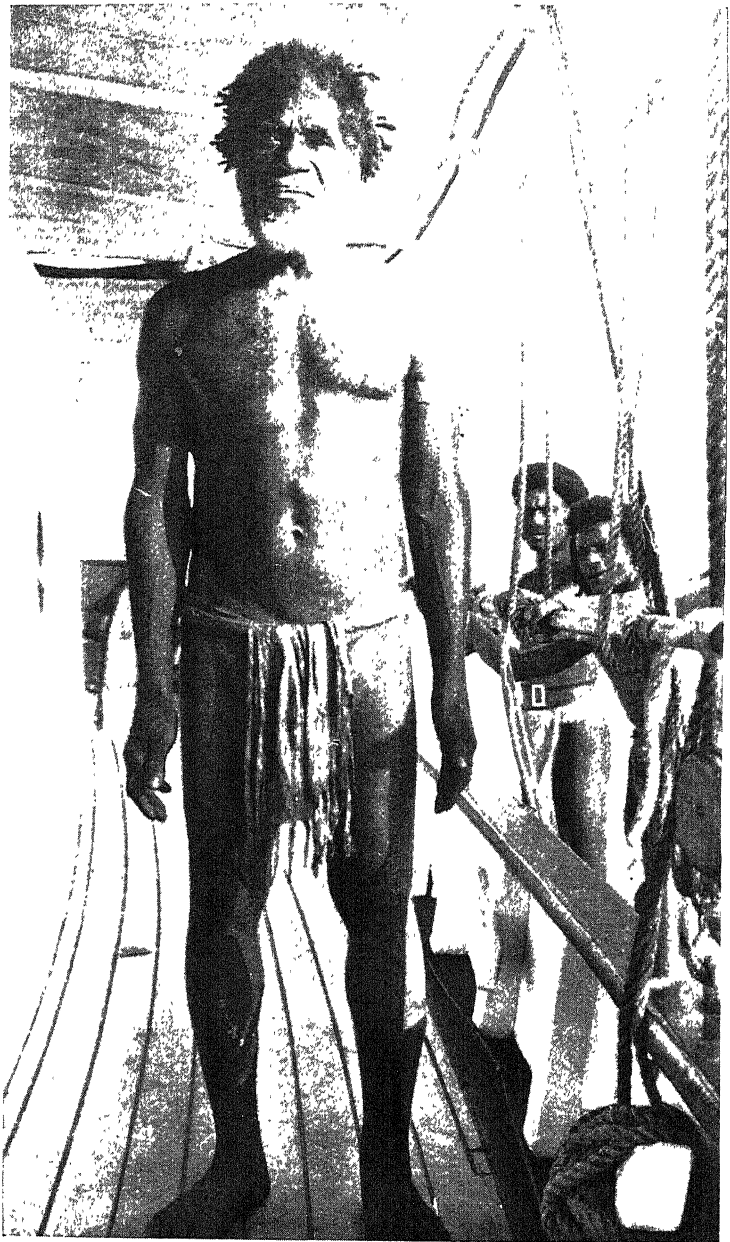
Letters sometimes appear in the Australian Press complaining of the lack of respect shown by natives to the writers, and the blame is invariably cast upon the Government. I have never been able to understand what the Government has got to do with such a matter—it seems to me emphatically a question of private relation between individuals with which the Government can have no concern—but I have often wondered whether the natives really have any particular disrespect for the authors of these letters. Is it not again a question of expecting a great deal too much from the native ? I remember a very valued old friend of mine with whom I was travelling far inland in the Papuan bush, who one night came into my tent and wept bitter tears, because, as he said, “the police did not love him.” Neither by appearance nor by character nor by reputation was he a man who would be easily moved, so I felt rather concerned and did my best to assuage his grief, pointing out that the police probably did not feel any extravagant affection for any of us, and that, as regards himself, so long as he invariably addressed them as “black bastards,” he could hardly hope to win their love. But he refused to be comforted.

Now my old friend certainly gave too little and asked too much, and I have sometimes thought that the writers who complain that they are not respected may perhaps be making the same mistake. A white man suddenly appears in a native village and asks for a number of men, who are

to lay aside all their own business in order to carry heavy ill-fitting burdens up mountain tracks under a blazing sun, to a destination to which they do not want to go, on an errand in which they have no interest. All for a wage of perhaps 6*d.* a day. Now the village people have by law a perfect right to carry or to refuse to carry as they please ; and it may readily be understood that they not infrequently refuse. Thus a refusal is merely the exercise of a legal right ; but it is frequently regarded as evidence of a want of respect, and has been made the foundation of bitter complaints.

I think that it is a matter of great importance that the natives should feel a respect for the white man, but I think that this feeling cannot be forced upon them, and that any attempt to do so by punishment or harsh treatment for offences that are probably quite imaginary would have an effect exactly opposite to that which we intend. Nor do I think that an attitude of studied discourtesy or an affected rigidity of manner can help matters at all. Those stern disciplinarians who refuse to say "Thank you" or "Good morning" to one of an inferior race, or indeed to speak at all except to give an order, have always been rare in Papua, and I am very glad that they are rare ; the only effect such antics can have is to spread the very false idea that the white man in the tropics is necessarily a prig.

But not only should the native respect the European, but the European should realize in his turn that he has a duty, both towards the native and towards his fellow-Europeans, never to act in such a way as to diminish that respect. So far as I am aware, the majority of white men in Papua act up to this standard and have in fact won the respect of the natives generally ; and I think that they will



BUSIMAI, A WELL-KNOWN CHIEF OF THE MAMBARE RIVER

retain this respect so long as they realize that the native has rights as well as the white man, and that superiority of race carries with it duties in proportion to its privileges.

I have many old friends among the natives of Papua, and perhaps I take too favourable a view of the Papuan character, and have persuaded myself that they are better than they really are. They have of course innumerable faults (they would be intolerable if they had not) and in particular they have one really bad one—they are inclined to be sneaks. This is to some extent our fault, for we praise and encourage the Papuan who betrays his fellow and hands him over to the white man for punishment; it is a necessary part of our policy of administration—not the most pleasant part, but one for which there is no alternative, if we are to preserve peace and order among these people. It would, I think, be quite absurd to attempt to translate our idea of patriotism and nationalism into terms of Papuan thought; I have watched, ever since I have been in the Territory, for something in the native which would suggest a racial or national pride, for I have been looking for something that might be used to raise him to a higher plane, but I have found nothing beyond local and tribal jealousies. So that, when a Papuan gives evidence against a fellow-tribesman, who has, for instance, been concerned in an attack upon a white man or upon the police, it would be an abuse of language to say that the witness is looked upon as a traitor to his country, but still I do not think he is favourably regarded in the village; we, on the other hand, praise him and load him with presents, whatever our real opinion of him may be, for he is necessary to our policy. I do not see how we can avoid this sort of thing, but I can quite understand that it may have a bad effect on native character.

At any rate I am afraid that they are inclined to be sneaks, and to "tell on" one another, in order, as they think, to curry favour with the white man. Even at school I am told that one boy will commit the unpardonable crime of betraying another, and that his action will be applauded by his fellows, as an astute move to gain the favour of the master. Doubtless in time this practice will die out, for I need not say that it is discouraged by all Europeans, and a better tone may prevail among the people generally ; for obviously this fault, like lying, is one to which subject races are more inclined than others, and, like lying, it will disappear as the self-confidence of the subject race increases.

On the other hand, the Papuans have the inestimable virtue of being "good mates," a quality that should endear them to Australians, and cheery and faithful companions both by land and sea. They also possess the rare quality of courtesy, which is rather remarkable when one considers that they come from communities where there are practically no chiefs, and, consequently, one would expect, no manners ; yet the Papuan is courteous even in his crimes. As an instance I may mention the well-known story of the natives who were asked by a sick man to carry him across a river. He was too heavy to carry, but they could not be so rude as to refuse, so they killed him as the best way out of the difficulty. There was a large audience of natives in the Court when the case was tried, and they all agreed that the conduct of the prisoners had been perfectly correct, except in one very important particular. They had murdered the sick man on a Government road, and this was inexcusable. The Government had some queer objection to murder, and it was therefore the worst of bad taste to commit a murder on a Government

road ; they should have taken the man off the road into the bush and killed him there.

Most of the Melanesian-speaking natives are very emotional, the Papuans being apparently less so, especially the Fly River natives, who are those of the Papuan-speaking natives with whom one comes into contact the most. The Motu of Port Moresby, for instance, will laugh and cry on very slight provocation, and the average Australian, who laughs but little and cries not at all, is apt to form the conclusion that the Motu is insincere, or that his varying moods are a pretence, but I do not think that they are. They certainly do cry very easily. I have seen my cook in floods of tears because I could not eat something he had sent in for dinner, and others have wept at a temporary parting, when certainly I could not see anything to cry about. Yet I am convinced that there was no pretence ; in fact so sure am I of the cook's sincerity that I always eat anything he gives me, regardless of indigestion. I do not like to see him cry, for he is a very old friend of twenty years' standing.

There are doubtless many natives who are superior to the Papuans both physically and intellectually, but I for one should never have the same feeling of mateship towards them as I have towards my Papuan friends.

CHAPTER III.

CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

Papuan Criminology—Small Evidence of Public Administration of Justice among Papuans—Breaches of Custom—Armed Constabulary—Arrest of Offenders—Punitive Expeditions unknown—Efficiency of Constabulary and Officers—Murder of Mr. Kirby and Arrest of Murderers—Murder of Police at Abau—Native Regulations—Opium and Intoxicating Liquor forbidden—Gamada Drinking—"Spreading Lying Reports"—Sorcery—Dreams, Reality of, to Natives—Murder of Sorcerers and Witches.

My first introduction to Papuan criminology occurred a few days after my arrival in the Territory. Two men were charged with the murder of another, at the instigation, it was alleged, of the dead man's wife. One of the accused was the lover of the woman, and his motive was obvious ; but the other seemed to have no interest in the matter at all, and I was rather puzzled as to how he came to be mixed up in it. In my difficulty I sought enlightenment from the Court interpreter. "Sir," said that official, "this man took part in the murder because the other man asked him." "But," I objected, "would you, for instance, go and help to kill a man because somebody asked you?" "Yes, sir," said the interpreter, "if he asked me I should certainly go and help him." I then realized that I was "up against" a form of crime with which my experience in Australia had left me quite unfamiliar ; I set myself humbly to learn the true inwardness of the Papuan criminal, and I may add that I am still learning.

With regard to the particular case I have mentioned I do not think that native opinion can have approved the action

of a man who killed another of the same tribe merely to get possession of his wife ; and I think that if there had been no Government at the time the general feeling would have been against the murderer, and that, unless he had many powerful friends, he would have had a bad time. But in the majority of the cases which we class as murder there is, from the native point of view, no criminality at all ; in fact in many instances the action of the murderer is, in native circles, regarded as perfectly natural and even meritorious.

Mr. Humphries, in his fascinating book,¹ mentions that his carriers, on his principal trip, were convicted murderers. One would hardly choose European murderers as travelling companions ; but a Papuan " murderer " is, as a rule, no better and no worse than his fellows. The crime of which he has been convicted was probably nothing more than the discharge of what he considered a social duty, and Mr. Humphries felt himself perfectly safe with his gang of assassins ; for they would not dream of exercising their homicidal talents on him or any of his party. So murderers are found in strange positions in Papua, and I have even known a case where a Magistrate appointed a native, who had been convicted of attempted murder by poisoning, to be cook at the Government station. I must admit that I thought this officer was taking a risk ; but he was confident that " it was all right," and in effect there were no unfortunate results.

So far as I am aware, there is but scanty evidence of anything in the nature of a public administration of justice, or a communal punishment of crime, before the arrival of the white man ; it is said that men notorious as murderers were sometimes killed in the public interest, and there

¹ W. R. Humphries, *Patrolling in Papua*. Fisher Unwin, 1923.

were, I believe, punishments for breaches of "tabu" and for theft from gardens in some parts, and even a police for their detection, but as a rule I think that even within the community punishment was left to private vengeance. The garden thief for instance would, from the nature of his offence, be an insignificant and friendless creature, and, when detected, he would doubtless fare badly—he would be beaten, or his feet would be burnt in a fire, or he might be killed ; and the adulterer, whose offence was regarded as theft, might, with his paramour, be killed by the husband, or made to settle matters by payment. But so far as I can learn the adulterer, or even the homicide, if he had powerful friends in the village, might escape with comparative impunity.

The flesh is weak, and tempers are hasty, even in Papua, and I fancy that such offences as homicide, theft and adultery must always have been fairly frequent, but breaches of custom—such as marrying within the prohibited group or totem—were, I think, almost unknown. Even now it is difficult to get an answer from natives when you ask them what would be the result of a breach of some particular custom ; all they will say in effect is that nothing will happen, for it is never done. If you insist, their answer will probably be a guess. "I don't know what would happen, but I suppose we would eat her," was the final answer by a Rossel Islander to a long cross-examination as to what would happen if a woman talked in a canoe. But he really did not know ; no woman ever had talked in a canoe, and there was no precedent to guide him.

To such a people our ideas of the administration of justice and the maintenance of order must appear as something very strange indeed ; and it speaks highly for the adaptability and the intelligence of the Papuan that he

should have fitted himself so readily into our judicial system. The police are rather a puzzle to him at first ; obviously they are only New Guinea boys dressed up, " savages in serge " as some one has called them, but for some strange reason they always appear on the side of the white man, eager to handcuff other New Guinea boys and to lock them up. Hence they are not always popular. " Yes, sir," said the interpreter to me, speaking his slow careful and almost perfect English (he was a self-taught Koita native of Port Moresby), " we all like to throw spears and stones at the police ; it is a great pleasure to us to do so." This appreciation of the Armed Constabulary was elicited during a case in which a party of mountain natives had attacked a police patrol and were being tried for attempted murder. There was no question as to their guilt, but I discharged them, having solemnly warned them that they must not attack the police again. To my amazement they burst into tears and begged for death ; life had no attraction for them, they sobbed, unless they might fight the police patrols—better die at once and get it over.

The police, or Armed Constabulary, as they are called officially, are really a particularly fine and efficient body of men. They were first organized in 1890, and consisted of twelve Solomon Islanders and two Fijians, who were brought direct from Fiji to Samarai in H.M.S. *Rapid*. Afterwards, as it was realized that the Papuan makes at least as good a policeman as anyone else, the islanders were allowed to drop out and natives of Papua to take their places ; and now, and for many years past, the force is composed entirely of Papuans. The experiment was considered, I believe, rather a dangerous one, but it has proved eminently successful. The Papuan makes an admirable policeman ; his weak point is that he can not direct

others. Hence, though good policemen are common enough, good N.C.O.'s are very rare indeed ; the few we have had have, I think, all come from the west, from the islands of the Fly River mouth and the villages just beyond the Fly.

What has always struck me as one of the most remarkable, and at the same time one of the most gratifying, of our experiences in Papua, is the success we have had in the arrest of offenders in the mountains and swamps of the interior. I think that it is not too much to say that when a murder is reported from any part of the Territory the guilty persons are eventually always arrested. For it must be remembered that in the Papuan administration the punitive expedition finds no place ; its " swift injustice," as I have called it somewhere else, has been entirely repudiated. Thus in Papua we try to find the individual offender, and ignore the village or tribe. The punitive expedition tends to ignore the individual and to make war upon the tribe, and returns, perhaps, flushed with victory, after killing the offender's uncle, ravishing his second cousin, and stealing his grandmother's pig. The punitive expedition is, in fact, identical with the native system of " pay back," and seems, so far as I can judge, to be equally ineffectual ; our system of individual responsibility is in some degree new to the Papuan native, but he adapts himself to it readily and without complaint.

Considering the extraordinary difficulties of transport in Papua this record of arrests is surely a very remarkable one, but it is a strange thing that no credit has ever been given to anyone concerned ; no credit whatever outside the Territory, and very little within it, beyond a comparatively small circle of Government officers who have immediate cognizance of the work that is done. I remember



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that when the late Mr. Coenen visited the Territory in 1913, on a special mission from the Government of the Dutch East Indies, he was especially struck with the manner in which arrests were effected in Papua under the most difficult conditions.

No one, myself least of all, would wish to say anything to detract from the credit which is due, though never given, to the "outside men" who have been engaged in these difficult and dangerous expeditions, but I think that a great deal is also due to the police who have accompanied them. The work done is as good as it was ten years ago; I do not know that it is any better, but it is as good, and I think that this is due to a tradition of efficiency which exists not only among the white staff, but also among the native constabulary, and which remains, although the personnel may change. I have noticed that nearly all the officers who go out on these apparently hopeless quests do extremely well, and are usually successful; and I think that the high uniform standard of excellence is due not only to the merits of the individual officer, which of course I should be the last to question, but also to the tradition which is a constant factor throughout.

At all events the work done is of very high quality and reflects credit on all concerned.

The last white man killed in Papua was a Government officer, Mr. Kirby, who, in April, 1916, was struck by an arrow while trying to arrest some natives on a charge of murder. This occurred at a village, usually known at that time as "Siaki's village," which is situated on a small creek running into the Kikori River, and the arrest of the criminals is described in the Annual Report, 1916-17.

"The murderers" (I said) "immediately scattered into the bush, and their arrest was looked upon as almost hopeless, for they had

relations with natives living as far away as the head waters of the Kikori and the Omati, and they had also a vast area of swamp and mountain country open to them, stretching into the interior of the Territory. Yet, in a few weeks, Siaki and the rest (twenty-one in number) were under arrest, and the captures had been effected without the firing of a shot or the shedding of a drop of blood."

And I think that I was fully justified when I added, "I venture to think that there are few police services in which arrests could be made so promptly, in the face of such difficulties, and without bloodshed."

On another occasion four policemen, who had been sent to effect arrests in the Abau district on the south coast, were decoyed from their arms and murdered; and their rifles and the few rounds of ammunition they had with them were carried off by the murderers. One of these, who was familiar with firearms, for he had been employed once by a white man to shoot game, established himself and others behind some trees in a sago swamp, having previously taken the precaution to cut lines giving him a clear field of fire over every approach. Driven from this point with the loss of their leader they fled inland, closely pursued by the police, both officers and men, who passed through the swamps at night by the light of fire-sticks, giving the fugitives no rest and capturing those of them who fell out. Wives and children of the offenders accompanied them in their flight, and many children were thrown away by their mothers, only to be picked up and carefully tended by the pursuing force; and when I came to Abau shortly afterwards I found the station like a baby farm, full of small children who were being fed on condensed milk, which they absorbed through quills. Eventually the offenders were arrested, the women came back and selected their children, and order reigned once more.

I have thought often of the hideous discomfort of these midnight journeys through the swamps, and of their dangers too, for these places are full of alligators ; but those concerned, both black and white, seemed to think that there was " nothing in it," and I am afraid that most people took them at their own valuation.

In the Abau case the murderers were known, but often a patrol sets out " to make inquiries and to effect necessary arrests" without having any knowledge of the name or village of anyone concerned. The party stays out for months if necessary, but it is rarely indeed that it returns without the guilty man. However, the criminal is sometimes too clever for the police, as for example in the well-known instance in the D'Entrecasteaux Group, where the man whom the police were looking for offered himself and was accepted as their guide, with the result that the party, after a particularly merry dance among the hills and dales of Fergusson Island, returned unsuccessful to Samarai. But such cases are rare, though one often wishes they were not, for certainly incidents of the kind tend to relieve the monotony of life.

Members of the Armed Constabulary have their faults, and some of these are rather serious ; they are capable, for instance, of extortion and blackmail if they are not watched, and they are, to put it mildly, somewhat addicted to gallantry. But on the other hand they are brave, patient, cheerful, and loyal ; this seems to me to be a pretty fair combination of virtues for a Stone Age savage, and far more than counterbalances their defects.

The criminal law in force in Papua is much the same as in England or any other country. Intoxicating liquor and opium have, very wisely, been forbidden to the natives from very early days, but otherwise the only local colour

is supplied by the Native Regulations. These Regulations cover most of the minor matters in which the native is likely to go astray, and form, as they appear in print, so portentous a mass of prohibitions and penalties that one wonders how a native, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred has not learnt to read, can ever hope to steer clear of them. Practically, however, they work quite well, for, after all, most of them deal with matters with which the native has been familiar from childhood. Sorcery is forbidden and punished under these regulations, and so is the failure to maintain roads and bridges, neglect to plant coco-nuts and other useful trees, adultery, the "spreading of lying reports," and the drinking of gamada. There are also innumerable regulations dealing with dirty villages and wells, ruinous houses, infectious diseases, attendance at school, carrying for the Government, and other details of a native's life—all necessary to the good order and good government of the Territory, and all fairly well carried out by the greater number of villages. The regulation against the drinking of gamada is one about which I have always felt considerable doubt. Gamada is the *piper methysticum* or kava, and it is drunk by the natives in the west of Papua much as it is drunk in the South Seas, though with far less ceremony. The liquor is extracted from the root by chewing.

The practice of gamada-drinking has, so far as we are aware, been going on for an indefinite time among the Papuans of the west, and has come to be associated in some way with the planting of taro, so that a good taro crop cannot be expected if no gamada is drunk. Doubtless occasionally too much of it was taken, with the result probably that roads and villages were neglected and allowed to get out of order; but I cannot help thinking that it

was a matter with which we should not have interfered. It would be unthinkable, for instance, to forbid the chewing of betel nut, and yet I suppose that a case could be made against it by those who would deny all pleasure to the native, and would condemn him to endless and unrelieved "habits of industry." The regulation against gamada was, in fact, passed while I was away on leave, and when I came back I suppose I lacked the courage to repeal it, though I would not have agreed to its passing.

The other regulations may seem to be of rather too intimate a nature, like the regulation against "lying reports," or even rather unjust, as e.g., those which compel the natives to carry for the Government, but they are in fact quite necessary. The "lying reports" really were very troublesome in the old days. Definite and circumstantial accounts of the massacre of Government officers with the whole of their police, and stories of the murder of isolated white men, could not always be disregarded, for they might chance to be true, and in consequence they caused a good deal of unnecessary commotion and movement of police to the scenes of the alleged atrocities. The regulation had the desired effect, and the "reports" have practically ceased. The last instance I can remember was where a village constable sought advice whether the scope of this regulation could be extended to a description of the punishment of the wicked in the next world, as painted by a native teacher.

Sorcery is an offence which is of course imaginary, except so far as it may have effect by suggestion, but it is a matter which cannot be overlooked; for belief in the power of the sorcerer is universal throughout Papua, and in many districts it is firmly believed that all deaths, other than violent deaths, are caused directly by some witch or wizard.

The punishment imposed for sorcery by the Regulations is six months' imprisonment. It is often urged that this is not enough, and that the lightness of the sentence has had the effect of encouraging the practice. It is argued that in the old days, before the arrival of the white man, the sorcerer who caused death would have been killed by the relatives of the deceased; and that the effect of our action is to substitute a punishment of six months' imprisonment for a sentence of death, with the result (it is said) that sorcery is more rife now than it ever was. But it appears equally obvious that we could not put a sorcerer to death for an offence which we know to be quite imaginary; and, in the second place, there is, I am sure, not nearly so much sorcery now as there was when I first came to the Territory. That is, the belief in sorcery may be just as strong as ever—it will not die out for many generations, if it ever dies out at all—but there are not nearly so many criminal manifestations of the belief as there used to be. Sorcery certainly does not come nearly so much into the Central Court as it used to, and is not, apparently, responsible for so many murders.

Women are the principal experts in sorcery in some parts of the Territory, as for instance in Suau and the east end generally, but elsewhere the chief part is played by men. I think that there can be no doubt that many deaths are caused by both wizards and witches as the result of suggestion, and perhaps also in some instances by actual poison. But the evidence of the use of poison is not conclusive.

The belief both of the sorcerers and of their victims in the power of magic is quite sincere, and rests apparently upon good grounds. That is to say, natives will give you very good evidence in support of their contention that such

and such a witch or wizard has killed a certain man; the evidence, for instance, of eye-witnesses who have seen the witch flying through the air on her gruesome errand, and who have actually seen her doing her victim to death, and of others who have seen the wizard concocting his "medicine," and have been witnesses of its immediate and deadly effect.

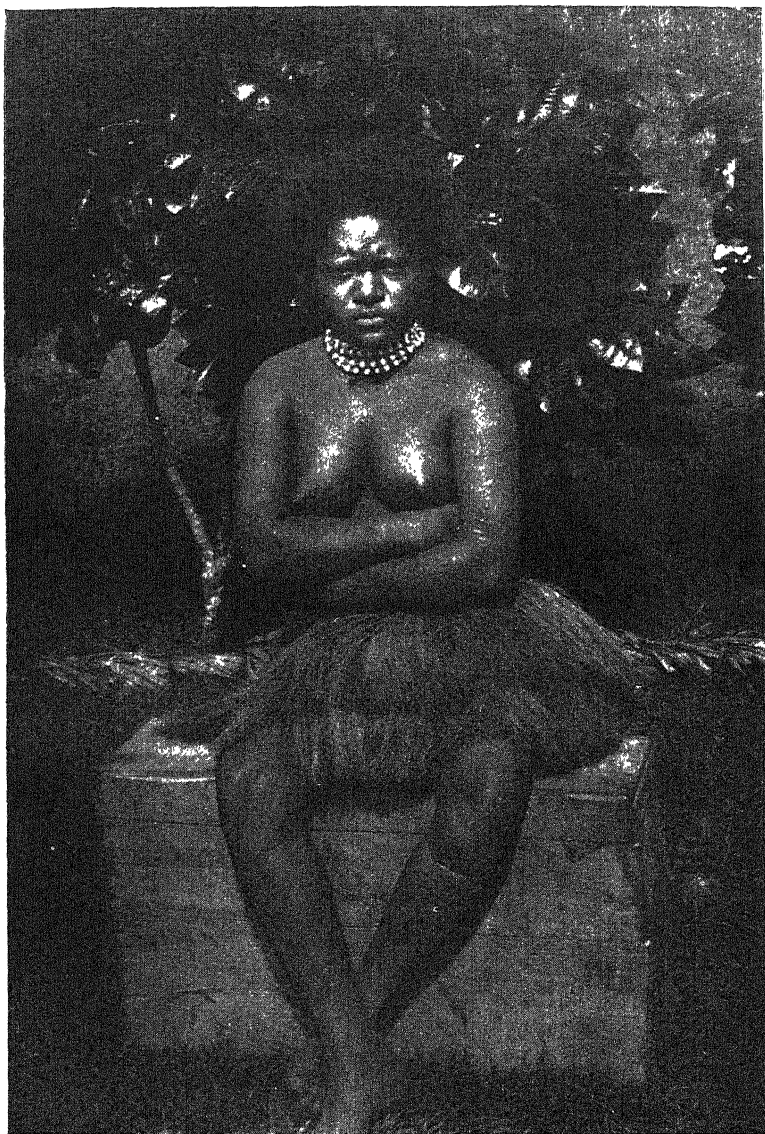
Much of the evidence is due to the influence upon the imagination of the constant terror of witchcraft in which these natives live. Every rustle in the palm trees, every noise in the bush, every figure that passes in the night, is evidence of the presence of the sorcerer at his deadly work, and a native, in such a state of mind, is capable of seeing anything. It is true, too, I think, that they do not always clearly distinguish what they have seen in their dreams from what they have seen when awake. Anthropologists are always saying this, but I must confess that I took the statement with a grain of salt, until I actually came across a case. A policeman had given me a very detailed account of a large snake which he had seen near the bank of the Fly River; no one else had ever seen a snake in any way like it, but he persisted that he had seen the snake at least twice. Finally I had a brain wave and asked him if he was asleep or awake when he saw it, and he said that he had been asleep on each occasion. But the snake was obviously just as real to him as if he had been awake. So when a witness says that he saw a witch flying through the wall of a house he is not swearing falsely: he actually did see her, but it was in a dream. I have read that an English knight in the twelfth century, dreaming that someone strangled him with his ringlets, when he awoke, rose and bobbed his hair. He took the dream as a warning; a Papuan would have taken it as a fact, and would have

sought to take vengeance on the man who had tried to kill him.

The regulation is perhaps wide enough to include harmless "white magic," but in practice it is applied only to the "black" variety. Almost every native activity—dancing, hunting, fishing, and agriculture—has its appropriate "magic," and to make the practice of such magic a criminal offence would be an administrative blunder.

I have rarely been so much impressed by anything as by the look of hopeless and abject terror that sometimes comes into a native's eyes, when he is telling how a sorcerer brought about the death of the people with whom he had a quarrel. Though all concerned are dead—the enemies of the sorcerer by witchcraft, and the sorcerer himself by the spears of the dead men's friends—he will still speak in a hushed voice and with bated breath and with a look of deadly fear which one can never forget.

Others again seem to be quit of the fear as soon as the wizard or witch is dead, and will put up quite a good defence, pointing out that the deceased had caused many deaths in the village, and arguing that they performed a meritorious action in getting rid of her. Their sincerity is obvious, and they seem quite certain that, if they can only get you to understand, you will see that they are public benefactors, and should be rewarded rather than punished. I have tried if I could find something that would be common ground to the slayers of witches and myself, but I have failed. Their major premiss that all deaths are caused by sorcery is hard to reconcile with their axiom that white men cannot be affected by it, since obviously white men die. The natives I have spoken to admit the difficulty, as they do in the cases where the witch is alleged to have crossed the salt water, for instance from the D'Entrecas-



TROBRIAND ISLAND WOMAN

teaux Group to Misima. The salt water belongs to the Government, and clearly the Government would not allow the witch to cross in a canoe ; how then did she manage it ? For it is too far to fly. These and similar difficulties remain unsolved—not, the native will in effect tell you, because there is no solution, but because he does not happen to know what the solution is. In such cases one's sympathy is with the prisoners, and one is apt to forget the old man or woman who was probably put to death in the most brutal and cowardly way ; but in fact we do not allow our sympathy to influence us, and the murderers go to jail.

It is sheer waste of time to argue with a native on this subject. Some of the better educated and more intelligent among them are, I think, sceptical about the cruder forms of sorcery, and would not accept without reserve a story of the metamorphosis of a man into a snake or of an old woman into a bird ; but I think that all village natives firmly believe in the reality of black magic and the possession of a mysterious power by certain individuals to cause death at will.

There was a well-known native, an exceptionally intelligent man, who was supposed to possess this power, and who perhaps really believed that he did. His practice was to sit outside his house, and if a native passed carrying, for instance, a string of fish, he would say "Those are very fine fish. You had better give me one." So with other kinds of food, and even with money—"You were paid your wages to-day—how much ? Five pounds ? Better give me two." And the wretched man with the fish or the money always handed over—he dared not do anything else. At last an old friend of my own came along—"Lend me £10, will you ?" said the sorcerer. "No," said my friend, "why should I lend you £10 ?" "You had better," said he. "Well, I won't," said the other, and

went away. "But what happened?" he said to me afterwards; "that night my child died." I made a feeble attempt to suggest a coincidence, but he laughed me to scorn. "You white people are quite right," he said, "in thinking that there is a lot of nonsense about sorcery. But there is a kind of sorcery that is quite real and about which white people know nothing; it does not affect you and you think that it does not exist, but it does, and we know it."

Adultery is another offence which is punished under the Native Regulations, not from any scrupulous care for native morality, but in order to prevent the social disorganization and the quarrelling which its commission is likely to cause in a native community. Here, again, it is said that the punishment, six months' imprisonment, is too lenient, and that this offence is more common now than it used to be. It may be so, but I should think it improbable. Adultery by the husband is not punishable unless committed with another man's wife. The reason of course is that, according to native ideas, the wife is the property of the husband, and the husband is not the property of the wife; consequently the duty of the husband to the wife is less than that of the wife to the husband.

The natives of Papua have no intoxicants of their own, unless gamada can be called an intoxicant, and it is highly desirable that they should remain without them. Consequently the supply of alcoholic liquor to natives, and its use by them, is severely punished. Public opinion is in complete sympathy with the law, and practically it may be said that the natives do not get liquor at all; fortunately they do not seem to want it. Possibly they find betel a sufficient substitute.

Gambling is perhaps the most common of the minor

offences. "Schools" of gamblers are occasionally caught and punished by fine or imprisonment, but I fear without much effect ; detection is so difficult, and so rare, that the gambler has a good sporting chance of never being caught at all, and the punishment hardly acts as a deterrent. The natives, so far as I am aware, never had any form of gambling themselves, but they readily adapt themselves to European custom in this respect. Their gambling takes the form of card-playing, and the games they play are easily the most idiotic in existence, but they will play all night through, to the utter neglect of their work, and may then rob their masters to find money to play again. It seems at first sight to be rather suggestive of a pharisaical self-righteousness that a Magistrate should send one native to jail for drinking intoxicants and others for playing cards, and then pour himself out a whisky-and-soda and go off to a bridge party ; but as a matter of fact there is no real analogy between the case of the white man and that of the native, for the white man can generally be trusted to stop in time, whereas the native cannot.

The principle on which we have generally acted, and which I think is the right one, is to tolerate all customs, of course within reasonable limits, which were in existence among the natives before the Europeans came here ; but to prohibit others which are new to them, and which we think may have a bad effect, even though we may continue to practise such habits ourselves. Thus I think that we are quite right in forbidding intoxicating liquor to natives, though we drink it ourselves, and in punishing gambling though we play cards ourselves, for neither card-playing nor drinking were native customs. But, as I have already said, it would be a mistake to forbid the use of betel nut, for the natives have been used to it for generations, and

I think that we actually did make a mistake in forbidding gamada.

Still, to the native it must appear rather strange. Perhaps, if he thinks about it at all, he concludes that the supply of liquor is limited, and that the white man selfishly wants to keep it all to himself, and has no mind, as an old miner put it many years ago, to “waste good stuff on a b——y nigger.”

CHAPTER IV.

CRIMES AND CRIMINALS (*continued*).

Criminal Procedure—Proceedings must be in English—Interpreters—Murder and other Crimes of Violence—The “Pay Back” or Vendetta—Raids—Vanity as a Motive for Crime—The Heera—Murder among the Koiari—Ritual Murders—Murder of Weaver—Nobo House—Murder as an Outlet for Grief or Relief from Sickness—Sentence passed for Murder—Effect of Imprisonment in the Early Days of the Territory—Cannibalism—“Eating a Flower”—Effect of the Tax upon Crime—Ritual Significance of Cannibalism—How far due to Lack of Meat—Cannibalism on Rossel Island—Head-hunting—Significance in Melanesia and in Dutch New Guinea—In Papua—Suicide—Emotional Side of Papuan Character—Sexual Offences—Unnatural Vice—Assaults on White Women—Theft—Confidence of Natives in the Government—Serious Crime rare in the settled Districts of Papua.

THE procedure in a native case should be as simple as it can be made, but it should never become slipshod, and I think that it is a mistake to relax the rules of evidence. Sometimes this may be done in favour of the accused, but one has to be very careful about it ; the strict formality of the criminal courts is, I have found, generally based on justice and common sense.

The prisoner in most cases tries to make things easy for all concerned by pleading guilty to any charge that may be brought against him ; but this is perhaps only his courtesy—he is not guilty at all, but he thinks that you would like him to say that he is. And then you have to set to work to find out if he really had anything to do with the offence of which he is accused, and, if so, whether he has not some perfectly good defence. Of course he himself can give you no assistance, because he does not know what would be considered a defence. According to his ideas

“payment” is a complete answer to a charge of homicide, and the previous murder of a great-uncle a perfectly good excuse. So a plea of “Guilty,” in Papua, instead of being the end, is often only the beginning of the trial.

The proceedings must be in English, and this necessitates an interpreter in every case, and often more than one. The interpretation, as a rule, so far as one can check it, is quite satisfactory, provided that you can get the interpreter to understand that he is there merely to interpret; for many of them have a maddening habit of refusing to interpret evidence which they do not believe, or evidence (as e.g. evidence of sorcery) of which they think the judge will not approve. The interpretation usually goes from English into Motu, and then, perhaps, through a variety of interpreters, into other languages. Most of us know enough Motu to check the first interpretation, but after that we can only guess what is being said; when I have been able to test the translation it has been correct.

Papuan witnesses are probably the most exasperating people in the world, not so much because they are untruthful, as because they break down so easily under cross-examination, and lose their heads when pressed for details. And there is always the horrible feeling that they are telling you, not what they know to be true, but what they think you would like to hear. I must, however, except one witness from my general condemnation. He was called in a case at Port Moresby; his evidence, which afterwards turned out to be quite correct, struck me as rather strange, and I asked him if he was telling the truth. “Yes,” was the reply. “No good me tell lie along you. You no b——y fool.” I wish that I deserved the compliment: it is the highest that has ever been paid to me, or probably to any other judge.

Of the more serious offences, murder and other crimes of violence are the most common. This, I suppose, is only to be expected, for there are in fact hardly any crimes that a savage can commit beyond murder, rape, and robbery. Most of the other offences have only become possible as the result of a more complicated civilization. In a horde of Papuan cannibals one would seek in vain for a forger, a fraudulent bankrupt, or a defaulting trustee, or in fact for any of the typical "crooks" or criminals of modern times; not, I think, necessarily because the cannibals are too virtuous to commit such offences, but because they do not know how. Their form of civilization is too crude to afford them the opportunity.

Life and property, in the settled parts of Papua, is more secure than in most places; but in the outside districts murder and violence of all kinds is very frequent.

Most of these murders arise from the custom of paying back a life for a life. This is a system which has the defect of allowing no finality; you can never strike a balance and cry quits, for each life must be paid for individually. But otherwise there is a good deal to be said for the practice in a community where there are no police and no law courts; for, though the vendetta cannot be tolerated under British rule, it commands a good deal of sympathy where vengeance is taken on the right person. There is, for example, the instance, which I have given more fully elsewhere, of the sorcerer who was enumerating the men and women whom he had done to death, all of them relations of a village constable who was one of those present. He counted seventeen, and then the constable could restrain himself no longer, but seized the boaster—they were in a canoe at the time—and drowned him.¹

¹ See *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 209.

In such a case the man who "pays back" commands our sympathy, but generally speaking it is not the guilty man who is killed. In cases of death from sickness, the system of "paying back" fails utterly; for to many, perhaps the majority of Papuans, sickness is the result of sorcery, and when the sick man dies the sorcerer must be found and put to death. And then payment for the sorcerer's death must be taken by his relations from those who killed him, and so you get murder piled on murder as a result of the death of a man who really died from eating too much pig.

One hears little nowadays in Papua of organized raids upon native villages, of the long march through the bush, the attack at dawn, and the massacre of all who could not escape. But such cases filled the Courts fifteen or twenty years ago. They were almost always connected with the vendetta, or "pay back."

The attack was generally a complete surprise, and I can remember hardly a case in which any serious resistance was offered; though any attempt at defence would probably have been successful, for a very slight loss was sufficient to damp the ardour of the attacking party. Papuans sleep like the dead, and would hardly be awakened by the advance of a party through the bush, however clumsily and noisily conducted. "I wake up; I see plenty spear; I no stop," is the account which was given to me by one survivor of a raided village, and probably it would apply to most others. An unearthly yell, a blaze of light, a throng of spears and clubs, and a mad rush for the bush, is about all anyone can tell you about a raid; and, if the assailants are identified, the identification must be accepted very cautiously, for every one in the village is frightened out of his wits, and no one knows who is there or what he is



WEDDING PARTY, YULE ISLAND

doing. Twice I have been within an ace of convicting an innocent man on the evidence of the survivors of a raid, who had no doubt whatever as to his identity, but who in both cases were entirely mistaken. Fortunately the raiders invariably own up to what they have done, and take what is coming to them like men. If they had the sense to hold their tongues and merely plead "Not guilty" very few Papuans would be convicted; though, for the matter of that, the same thing might be said of accused persons in other countries besides Papua.

I once had an interesting conversation with an old man who had taken part in many raids in his youth, but who, when I knew him, was too old to keep up with an attacking party, though he still had a pretty good idea of what was going on in the district, and knew who was taking part in it. He started with the usual compliment to the Government and the Missions, and the good they had done, but, when he realized that I saw through his "bluff," he admitted that they used to have a great life in the old days, when he was a young man, before the white man came to spoil the fun; and he told me how they used to go for days by secret paths through the bush to attack some unsuspecting village far away, and how they would rush the place at dawn and slaughter all whom they met.

Evidently this old man was but little attracted by the life which civilization had to offer him, but I think that the majority of old men would probably not agree with him. It must be remembered that my friend had always been the raider, whereas others whom I have questioned have generally been the objects of the raid, and naturally the two parties looked upon the incident rather differently. I certainly think that, if you could get a real expression of opinion, it would be overwhelmingly in favour of the present

system, with all its disadvantages, as compared with the terror and uncertainty of the days when the sorcerer and the raider were abroad.

Vanity is a very frequent incentive to crime, and men, and, more often, women and children, are killed in order to win the right to wear certain ornaments (called Heera in the Motu language) which are the insignia of the assassin. These ornaments vary, as might be expected, in different parts of the Territory, but the beak of the hornbill is recognized as a badge in more districts than one. Some tribes have no system of badges and never had, though they may have a form of tattooing which is peculiar to men who have taken life, or a certain flower or leaf which is worn as a token of murder. Such is the croton leaf in many parts, and the red hibiscus, which is the token of the murder of a woman in the Mambare district.

The Koiari, who live inland from Port Moresby, possess a very elaborate system of Heera. They have been described to me as follows :

1. The beak of the hornbill, to be worn by him who first seizes the man who is to be killed. This signifies the victim's nose.

2. Bird of paradise feathers, to be worn by the man who struck the first blow. This signifies the tongue of the victim.

3. A plume of cockatoo feathers, to be worn by the second man to strike a blow. This represents the penis of the murdered man.

Others are a sea-shell to represent the finger-nail of the deceased, cassowary feathers (worn on the forehead) to represent the dead man's hair, the cuscus skin to represent his skin, and a nose-stick of bone or shell to represent the dead man's bones. These can be worn by any of those

concerned in any way, in the murder even though they do not actually strike a blow until after the man is dead.

Such is the information which has been given to me more than once, and my informants should have known, for they had long ago won the right to wear the Heera themselves.

It is comprehensible enough that a man who has never taken life should be despised, and that the girls of the village, in particular, should look down upon him. I have often had this urged as a defence to a charge of murder ; the accused has been ridiculed by the object of his affections because he has never taken life, so he sallies forth and, looking around for an easy chance, kills some baby who has been left by his mother, or some old woman whom he finds alone. Then returning in triumph he is received as a hero, and his suit prospers almost beyond his hopes. And then we come along and put him in jail.

It must be very puzzling to the native, and I have always found it difficult to deal with such a case. It is so very natural that the man should wish to show the girl that he is not a milksop, and he proceeds to do so in the customary Papuan way, which, unfortunately for him, is not our way. One can sympathize with him as the victim of a false tradition, but one must protect the old women and the babies. The accused, on the other hand, thinks that this protection is quite unnecessary. "There are plenty left," he will say with a wave of his hand, "any amount. A few more or less makes no difference. And this old woman was no good." That the deceased was "no good" is quite a common defence, and I have even known it raised by a man as an excuse for killing his father. "The old man was really no good," said the parricide confidentially. "I will pay a pig—more than he was worth."

I have never looked favourably upon this defence, for if it were extended to its logical conclusion few of us would feel safe, but I must confess that I have always had a sympathy with the man who (as occasionally happens) kills another "because he talked too much." I have even known a man to kill his father and mother for this reason, but that, I thought, was going too far, and I gave him a substantial sentence.

It would be quite wrong to argue from these and similar cases that Papuans are devoid of family affection. Such murders as those of child by parent and parent by child are by no means common, and I think may always be explained as due to sudden outbursts of temper, exaggerated by the continual presence of the same people in a small house, and easily translated into action by the readiness to hand of spear and club.

However, with regard to the Heera, although all this love of distinction is natural enough, I cannot help thinking that there is something behind it all which we do not understand, especially in the murders which a few years ago were so frequent among the Koiari behind Port Moresby. These Koiari, although they come down in places to within a few miles of the sea, always maintain their characteristics of inland as opposed to coastal people. They extend in places almost to the summit of the main range, but never, so far as I am aware, to the other side. They speak a Papuan language with local variations of dialect; the language closely resembles the language of the Koetapu, who are found associated with the Motu-speaking people in many of the coastal villages of the Port Moresby district.

In the early days the Koiari were among the fiercest opponents of the Government, and it was they who attacked

the late Dr. Morrison, of Chinese fame, and drove him wounded back to Port Moresby. This was in 1884, and three years later Mr. Forbes, who was ascending the Brown River, was forced to retire with the loss of all his supplies, and a similar fate befell a private expedition in 1896.

Of late years the Koiari have offered no opposition to Government parties or private individuals, and they sometimes "sign on" to work, and even join the police; but although they live so near Port Moresby they have been but little influenced by civilization.

Murders are, or were, frequent among these people, and they differed to a certain extent from murders elsewhere in Papua in the fact that they were frequently committed in the tribe or village, and even in the family. Elsewhere, although a man may be anxious to win the glory and the ornaments which are peculiar to the homicide, still he will only (except, of course, in the case of a personal quarrel) kill outside his village; but the Koiari will kill his best friend.¹

Here is a story told me by a man called Giniori: "I have a right to wear the Heera. When I was a small boy another boy was dying; he had a snake inside his belly eating him. I struck him with my two fingers. I am entitled to wear the shell. He was a small boy, a playmate of mine, and of the same village." And by another, Nigani: "I have the right to wear the Heera. I killed a little girl at Inari. She was quite a little thing and I was a little boy. I hit her in the stomach and killed her. I killed her because I wanted the Heera. She was my sister, the same father and mother. I wear the paradise and cassowary feathers: not the hornbill, because I was a small boy."

It is generally assumed that the idea which is at the

¹ He then composes and sings a song to celebrate the murder, and so facilitates his own detection.

root of the Heera is (as in our system of decorations) either personal prowess or service to the tribe ; but when we find the Heera conferred upon a little boy who has killed his baby sister, and upon a child who has apparently done nothing more than place two fingers upon another child who was dying, we may suspect that this assumption is perhaps incorrect. It is possible that prowess or service was the original idea, but that the system has degenerated so that its meaning has become obscured ; but it is quite possible also that the original idea may have been something quite different, and may have extended to any close connection with death, irrespective of whether the dead man was a friend or an enemy.

In any case I do not suppose that the Koiari themselves could give us any information, and we are therefore left to conjecture—that very unsatisfactory method which is often the only one open to us when dealing with native matters. Natives do not act from a single clear-cut reason any more than we do, and they cannot explain their motives, which in any case are probably (if only for sociological reasons) very different from ours, any more than we can.

We may, however, suspect that we have here the remains of some form of ritual now long forgotten.

Ritual murders will be familiar to residents of Port Moresby from the murder of an old market-gardener called Weaver in 1906, by these same Koiari and their Koetapu kinsmen. In that case the ringleader Hariki wanted to build a new house, and furthermore he wanted to paint the posts with red clay. But this he must not do unless he had killed a man to celebrate the event. So he collected his friends and killed Weaver ; for he was a very superior man, this Hariki, and the murder of a native was not enough for him—he must kill a white man in honour

of his house. Some weird ritual too was associated apparently with the Nobo house which used to be in existence in the mountains at the back of Mekeo. The Nobo house was built in order that unwary travellers might be decoyed into it to their undoing, for they were promptly murdered. And then the house was burnt to the ground, and a fresh one built close by. Village natives, who knew all about it, would naturally fight very shy of the Nobo house ; but even they sometimes went in, and, of course, never came out alive.

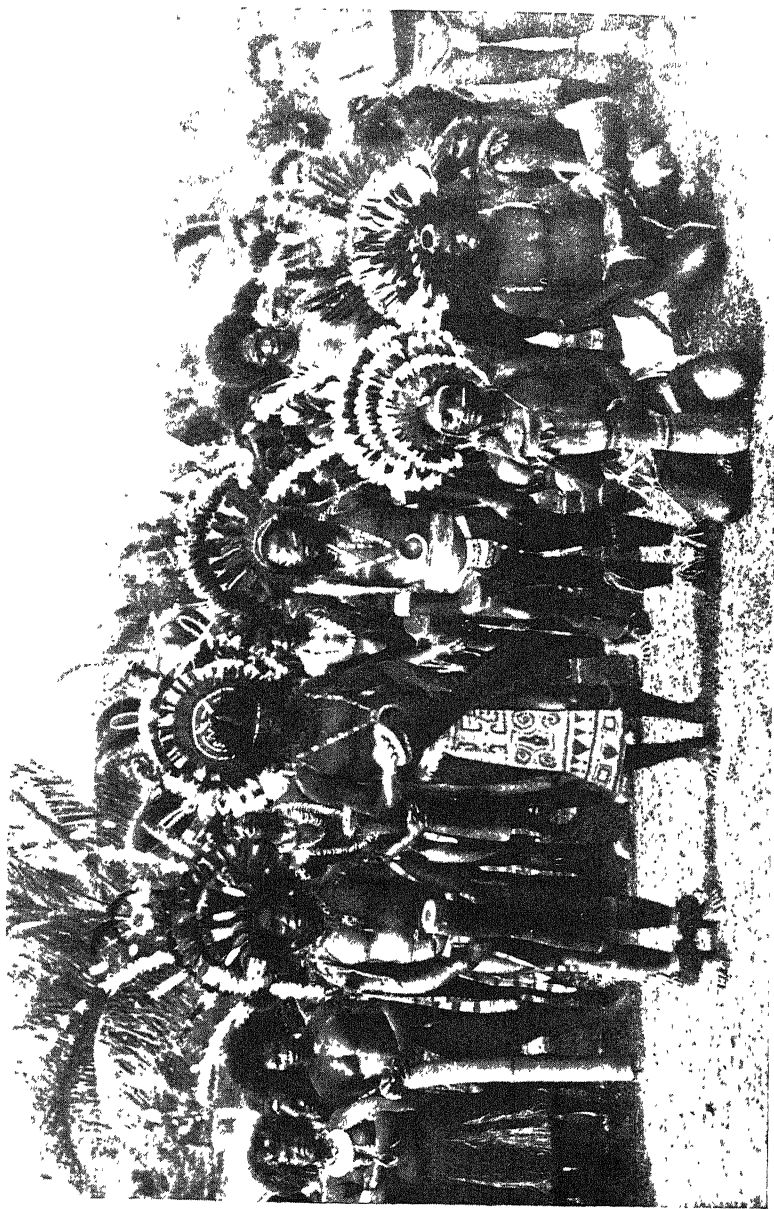
Similar cases of what I suppose might be called ritual murders used to be common enough in the Gulf and the west of Papua, where it was the practice to kill a man when a new men's house was built, or a canoe launched. Murders of this kind soon cease as the influence of the Government advances, or survive only in sporadic outbursts of the lower culture, which still continues under the thin layer of civilization with which a single generation of Government control has tried to cover it.

It has been argued that we should suppress the outward and visible signs which are the distinguishing mark of these murders, and that the murders would then cease for want of an object ; that no one, for instance, would commit a murder for the sake of the Heera, if he could not wear them when he had won them. But I think that to do this would be like treating the symptoms and leaving the disease untouched. Fresh insignia would be devised, and we should, for a time at least, be under the disadvantage of not knowing what they were. Now at least we know them and, though we cannot be sure that a man who wears the hornbill beak is a murderer, since in these degenerate days the Heera are worn by all who choose, there is at any rate the possibility that he may be ; whereas, if he does not

wear any of the recognized tokens, we are fairly certain that he is not. Hence we have thought it wiser not to interfere.

Natives suffer from malaria much as we do, and in the Western Division a favourite method of obtaining relief was to take a bow and to shoot arrows into the wide world. The death or wounding of an inoffensive stranger was not infrequently the result, but this was not intended, and was regarded merely as a regrettable accident, incidental to the cure. So if a man is annoyed at anything he will comfort himself by setting fire to a house, generally his own ; he has no intention of injuring anyone—he merely wishes to give vent to his feelings. But he occasionally burns somebody to death. Thus I have known a native to set fire to the communal house because he was asked to fetch water when he was tired, and to his own house because his brother refused to singe a pig that he had caught ; and another, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his child, and, finding another native up a bread-fruit tree, proceeded to chop down the tree and kill the native with his axe. I suppose that any violent action is a relief to the feelings, but there was one man who, in his vexation at a rebuke he had received from his father, proceeded to attempt a rape upon a respectable married woman who happened to be passing ; and it certainly is difficult to suggest any excuse for him.

But after all, similar cases are common enough among Europeans. I remember reading, during the war, of an English soldier who came home on leave and found that his wife had eloped with another man ; he gave vent to his anger and grief by killing his daughter, exactly as a Papuan might have done. And recently, in Australia, a man under similar circumstances proceeded to wreck a train ; his wife



HEAD-DRESSES FOR A DANCE, PORT MORESBY

was not on the train, nor had he any idea that she was—it was the act of violence that relieved him. The same principle is illustrated by the story of the Indian Colonel who, coming from the War Office after an unsatisfactory interview, relieved his feelings by administering a violent kick to a perfect stranger who was tying his bootlace in the street.

Still making all allowance for ritual, tribal custom, irritability, the necessity of self-protection in the absence of any system of police, and everything else, I do not think that the Papuan's best friends can acquit him of a lust for blood of which the ordinary white man is, in normal times, incapable. "I killed him because I wanted to," is the only explanation forthcoming in many cases in which ritual and similar considerations can have no part. Nor is there the slightest vestige of chivalry in all the monotonous tales of blood that come before a Papuan Court, but little evidence of courage, and hardly a single case of a stand-up fight. Women and children are killed more often than men. One native confided to me his reasons for killing women, and both reasons were conclusive: "The women are easier to catch," said he, "and they do not carry spears."

The sentences passed on convicted murderers vary very much. The murder of a white man is generally punished with death, and a native murder with a term of imprisonment, varying from life to the rising of the Court, according to the circumstances of the case, and particularly according to the standard of civilization which the accused has reached. A native of the Port Moresby villages would be, and indeed has been, hanged for a native murder, for he knows the law as well as a white man; whereas a native less familiar with our ways might get a term of five or seven

years' imprisonment, and another, who had hardly been brought under control, might get off with six months, and a thoroughly untaught savage might receive only a nominal sentence. There is a fiction abroad that natives like going to jail. If they really have such eccentric tastes I do not know how we can help it ; but I see no reason to suppose that they have, and, in fact, I know that they have not, and that they do not like imprisonment any more than anyone else. It is true that they are fed in jail and that they get a ration of tobacco, and it is probable that in some cases they may have to work harder, though less regularly, to gain their living outside in the village than they do as prisoners ; but this can hardly make up for the absence of their women, and of the ordinary pleasures of village life and freedom. Natives, it is true, will tell you that they like jail, but, if you " call their bluff " and offer them a term of imprisonment, they make very great haste to explain that they are not in earnest.¹

So it rarely happens that convicted prisoners come back again, after a long sentence for a serious offence. There are a few men, like Sobo, in Mr. Chignell's book *An Outpost in Papua*, who are continually in and out of jail for theft and breaches of the native regulations, but it rarely happens that a man who has served a long sentence is convicted again. In the early days of the Possession imprisonment was found to be a complete failure.

"The prisoners fretted, lost courage, pined, sickened, and died. So serious was this for the first year or two that it became a question whether, if matters continued in the same strain, it would not be necessary to abolish prisons altogether and substitute some form of relegation. But after a couple of years the prison began to be better understood, and the prisoners no longer died of dread or hopelessness."²

¹ But compare Lugard, *Dual Mandate*, p. 559.

² Annual Report, 1897-8, p. xxvii.

Even now it is occasionally necessary to release prisoners from the wilder tribes before their time, to prevent their dying of what I suppose is really a broken heart. The man of robust common sense, who understands "niggers," would say that they were shamming : but they are not, and they would die if they were left, as Sir William MacGregor found many years ago.

Of course no account of Papua would be complete without some notice of cannibalism. I may say at once that the accounts of cannibals and cannibalism in Papua have been ridiculously exaggerated ; for probably the majority of Papuans never were cannibals, and the practice in the worst parts of Papua never prevailed to anything like the same extent as in Fiji, and among certain tribes in Africa. Cannibalism is an indictable offence under the criminal code, and is as a rule easily suppressed, a pig (where it is a matter of ritual) sometimes taking the place of the dead man. It is known in some parts under the rather poetical periphrasis of "eating a flower," and is now practically confined to a few remote districts which are not yet subject to Government control.

This is not always realized by the ordinary visitor to Papua. He is sometimes rather inclined to persuade himself that every native he sees is a cannibal, and to lend too credulous an ear to the gossip of the hotels of Port Moresby and Samarai; and, on his return to Australia, he is apt sometimes to be eloquent on the dangers that he ran while surrounded by these wild people. A much-travelled lady who visited the Territory some years ago has, I am told, left on record that she was entertained at a native feast in Papua at which the chief dish was a boiled baby ; but in fact, I believe, she stayed all the time at the Port Moresby hotel, and I am sure that she would get no boiled baby

there. And a well-known journalist, describing his adventures in a district of the interior which is at least as safe as any part of Sydney or Melbourne, spoke of passing through numerous cannibal villages ; but the inhabitants of these villages have long been devout Catholics. It is their custom to greet the wayfarer with cries of " Ave Maria," and they had as little idea of eating the journalist as he had of eating them.

And it is not only the tourists who are to blame, for we residents, I fear, err occasionally in the same direction, and are not always proof against the temptation to excite admiration for our hardihood by exaggerating the ferocity of the natives among whom we live.

However, cannibalism certainly does exist in Papua, and at one time it was much more common than it is now. But it was never universal, or even nearly so. It is strange, with our present knowledge, to read, in the Annual Report of 1892-3, that " there has been no cannibalism to contend with in the west, nor, it may be said, elsewhere " (p. xxiv), and the further statement by Sir William MacGregor that " in no clearly established case since annexation has a regular feast, or even meal, been made of human flesh." ¹

This was written before his meeting, on the Musa River, with the party of cannibals returning from the execution of their " high purpose," of which he has given so striking an account,² but it is at least evidence that cannibalism was not very common. It is remarkable, however, that Sir William, in the same publication (*New Guinea Country and People*), is more than doubtful of the existence of totemism—" It is almost certain that totemism does not exist on the mainland, and it requires further inquiry even

¹ *New Guinea Country and People*, p. 76.

² Annual Report of 1895-6, p. 27.

in Sud Est.” There is not any doubt now of the existence of totems both on the islands and on the mainland ; nor, I am sorry to say, of cannibalism either.

However, the practice is not nearly so widespread or so common as people sometimes think. In some parts it has been introduced comparatively recently, as e.g. into the Suau district from, it is said, the D’Entrecasteaux Group, and into Brooker Island from the Solomons.¹ Mr. Armstrong, our late Assistant Anthropologist, expresses a strong conviction that the census of the native population, which has been taken for the purpose of the native tax, has caused the complete extinction of all forms of ceremonial murder and cannibalism in the islands, where these practices may have lingered on in secret after their suppression elsewhere. Mr. Armstrong’s argument is that the native tax-payer acquires a “more intimate relation with the Government” and that this “deters him from illegal actions which the ordinary vague fear of the Government would be powerless to prevent.” It is certainly to be hoped that this argument is sound, but one cannot help remembering that there is no evidence that the practices did linger on.

It has been suggested on the authority of Dr. Strong² that cannibalism was a Papuan practice and that the Melanesians learned it from their Papuan neighbours. I do not know what evidence there is to support this theory, nor how it is reconciled with the existence of cannibalism in Melanesia, as e.g. in the Solomons and Fiji ; certainly if the Fijians learned it from others they showed themselves very apt pupils.

¹ See report of Mr. Armstrong, Assistant Anthropologist. Annual Report, 1921-2. For Solomon Islanders or Brooker, see my *Papua or British New Guinea*, pp. 317, 318.

² Annual Report, 1920-1, p. 32.

Cannibalism is usually explained as having a ritual significance, and it is no doubt true that ritual does colour much of a savage's life, but it certainly is not invariably present in the Papuan's attitude to cannibalism. Endo-cannibalism—that is cannibalism within the community—is, so far as I am aware, unknown in Papua, except in isolated instances, and it is endo-cannibalism which, as a rule, is more particularly associated with ritual.

Personally, so far as my experience goes, I should say that there are many cases in which the practice is obviously connected with some sort of ritual or ceremony; and many others in which it is merely a question of animal food and in which, as Sir Frederick Lugard says of Nigeria, “this degrading habit would cease were meat procurable.” And then again there are other instances which are doubtful, and which may come under either heading.

It is not difficult to get old men talking about cannibalism when you have once gained their confidence and they are sure that you are not going to send them to jail, and in many cases they will talk of the killing and cooking of a man just as they would of the chase of a wallaby; and they will discuss the merits of human flesh as food just as they would talk of fish or pig. Occasionally you find a man who does not like it, and he simply does not eat it; he does not seem bound by any ritual to join in the feast against his will.

“The women liked babies too much,” an old friend of mine at Iasi Iasi told me once, “and if we came back without babies for them to eat they would not let us into the village.” A grown man, he admitted, was rather tough, but a baby was delicious. But Komitoba of Huvivi, in the Northern Division, would not agree to this. “Your friend a Iasi Iasi was no cook,” he told me. “If you

cook a man on an open fire I admit that he will be tough, but cooked on hot stones and covered with leaves the stringiest old man is tender. Why should he be any tougher than a bush pig ? ”

I do not think that either of these two bothered about ritual ; they ate human flesh simply because they liked it. But there are many other instances in which a ceremonial significance is involved in the act. Sometimes the idea is to absorb some of the manly qualities of the dead man, as for instance among the Bina tribe of the Bamu, where the penis was dried at a fire and eaten by the young boys of the village, who in consequence become strong and big ; just as the boys of some Fly River tribes were, it is said, made to eat the heads of snakes to make them wise and courageous. And sometimes the motive is vengeance and the desire to destroy all traces of the enemy who has been killed. This seems to have been the case in Suau and in the D'Entrecasteaux Group. In Rossel Island the motive was different ; there a victim was eaten ceremonially on the death of a chief, in payment for that death, which, like other deaths, was ascribed to sorcery. There was a tradition that on the death of one exceptionally great chief five victims had been eaten, but, so lately as sixty or seventy years ago, Mr. Armstrong tells us

“ A certain chief, whose name is well remembered by the natives, acquired so much power that he was able to depart from convention and satisfy his lust for human flesh on perfectly unorthodox lines. Fortunately this was at a time when there was a glut on the market, for some 300 Chinamen had been wrecked on the reef on the north side of the island, and this chief was thus able to satisfy his insatiable desire for human flesh without reducing the aboriginal population of Rossel Island to any extent. But for these perversions of the normal Rossel custom, it would be difficult to understand how sufficient

deaths (from sorcery) of Rossel Islanders could have occurred to account for the eating of the majority of these Chinamen."¹

Head-hunting is often, but by no means necessarily, found in combination with cannibalism. It is, or rather was, common in Papua, especially in the Gulf and the west, but it has died almost a natural death as Government influence has advanced; the pig's head which has occasionally been substituted is probably in accordance with the ordinary course of evolution, though one would hardly think that it would be possible to get up as much enthusiasm over the head of a pig as over the head of a tribal enemy. The motive for head-hunting in Melanesia, according to Dr. Rivers, is

"the belief that on various important occasions, and especially on occasions connected with the chiefs, a human head is necessary as an offering to the ancestral ghosts. There is little doubt that the custom is a relic of an earlier practice of human sacrifice."²

Head-hunting has great social importance also among the Marinda Nim, or Tugeri, of the south coast of Dutch New Guinea. The practice is there associated with the naming of children, and the Tugeri warrior, before he takes a head, finds out the name of his victim, and the name then becomes his property, to be bestowed on whom he pleases. I have read that the whole social life of the Tugeri is directed towards success in head-hunting and that the children are brought up on the stories related to them by their elders of their exploits in the forest, how they lurk among the trees watching for their prey, and how they stalk him, seize him, and decapitate him with their bamboo knife. These children, I am told, look forward

¹ Annual Report, 1920-1, p. 29.

² *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, p. 108, and see Perry, *Children of the Sun*, p. 229.



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to nothing else but the time when they too will be able to try their fortune in the forest, and return laden with heads and richly furnished with names. Their wretched victims are considered as having no reason for existence except to yield their heads and names to the Tugeri.

The same practice of taking the name of the man who is beheaded is found in some parts of Papua also ; and the head when taken is believed to serve some purpose of magico-religious significance, but on the whole I do not think that head-hunting with us can have the same importance in the life of the people as, apparently, in the Solomons and Dutch New Guinea. If it had, its suppression would doubtless be more difficult.

Suicide is not very uncommon among Papuans, and, in my experience, is almost invariably the result of love or jealousy. A favourite method is to climb to the top of a coco-nut palm and leap down, and another is by hanging. Women will commit suicide if their husbands show signs of preferring another woman, and men if they cannot marry the woman whom they want. Recently one of the Armed Constabulary applied for permission to marry, but was refused as he already had a wife on the strength. Whereupon he went off and hanged himself ; fortunately he was discovered and cut down before he was dead, and he eventually recovered. He was dismissed from the Constabulary, and, I presume, married the second woman.

There seems to be a general idea that Papuans care for nothing but their food. "Fill their bellies," people say, "that is all they care about ; they have no thought of anything else." My own impression is that they are a very emotional people, and that there is quite a lot of romance in their lives. Within the last month I have had a case of a girl who went mad because her lover deserted

her, and of a married woman who committed suicide from shame, on the discovery of the intrigue which she was carrying on with her lover. There are innumerable instances of the same kind, but they are apt to be overshadowed by the more arresting incidents of violence and bloodshed with which the Courts are filled, and the more tender and romantic side of the Papuan's character has been lost sight of.

Rape and similar offences come before the Courts occasionally, and do not differ in their incidents from similar crimes elsewhere ; unnatural vice is rare, except in some districts of the west, and especially among some decadent tribes between the Oriomo and the Pahoturi Rivers, who, it is said, keep boys for immoral purposes. An allegation, which was made some years ago, that the natives of Mawatta were addicted to this vice, was investigated by Sir William MacGregor, who reported it to be untrue.¹

Assaults on white women have been very rare. A certain number have been reported, but nearly all, on investigation, have appeared to be without foundation. Some technical assaults, probably not deliberate, have been committed, and there have been two or three serious cases; and in other instances boys have sought to gratify their prurient curiosity by watching white women undressing or in their beds. But there has never been one which even remotely suggested an intention to commit a rape. Offences of the kind are more common in South Africa than in the Pacific, and have been attributed partly to the fact that "ladies in South Africa habitually allow their native 'boys' to attend them in their bedrooms, when they are themselves either in bed or very lightly clothed,

¹ *Papua Annual Report*, 1891-2, p. 35.

oblivious of the fact that these 'boys' are often grown men, with fully developed passions, living at a distance from their wives." ¹

There is, however, a danger to which I do not think parents in Papua are sufficiently alive, and that is the danger of employing native boys as attendants on their female children. The Papuan is doubtless a good nurse boy, but it is easy to trust him too far. "I doubt if any boy or girl in the country, who has reached the age of puberty, knows what chastity is"—such is the deliberate opinion of one who knows Papua well; and it is prudent to remember it.²

Theft is common enough in Port Moresby, and I suppose in other parts of the Territory where opportunity offers. Personally I do not find the natives dishonest even in Port Moresby. I live within half a mile of a native village of nearly 2,000 inhabitants, and I never lock my house; but, so far as I am aware, I never have anything stolen, certainly nothing of any value. Still, I know that an enormous amount of pilfering does go on, both in stores and private houses, and I fear that it is increasing, as the thieves realize the improbability of detection.

In spite of the enormous gap between Papuan ideas of criminality (such as they may be) and our own, we seem to have impressed the people generally with our desire to do justice, and we have been successful in gaining their confidence. There have, for instance, been cases where distant tribes have sent to seek our protection, or to ask our advice on questions of marriage custom; but I think that the greatest tribute of all came from some Delta

¹ Frances Hoggan, M.D., *Inter-racial Problems*, p. 336. "The negro problem in relation to white women."

² See *Among Papuan Women*, by Mrs. R. Lister Turner, p. 20. But see, on the other hand, Holmes' *In Primitive Papua*, p. 52, ante p. 46.

Division natives, who had escaped from jail, and had been seized by a hostile tribe of the Gulf Division.

To understand what happened it must be remembered that Papuans, when in their utmost danger, call upon their father, or their village, not that their father or their village can give them any assistance, but as a last despairing cry to those in whom they have the greatest trust; just as many of the men who were lost in the *Titanic* called upon their mothers as they sank for the last time. Probably their mothers had been dead for ages, but it was to their mothers that their hearts went out in their last hour. Well, these Delta natives, when they were seized by their enemies, and had nothing before them but certain death, called, not upon their fathers or their village or any of their relations, but upon the Magistrate of the Delta Division, and Sergeant Gaiberi and Constable Daru of the Delta detachment. It was something quite different from the call to the police which is raised by the ordinary citizen when he is threatened with assault; this was the last despairing cry raised instinctively by the doomed men to the power which was too far away to hear, but which would surely help them if it knew of their plight. There could be no stronger evidence of their acceptance of the Government as their protectors and champions in time of need.

On the whole I should think that there are few civilized countries, if any, where life is so safe and serious crime so rare as in the settled parts of Papua to-day. To the Australian reader this will appear a bold and ill-considered statement, for in Australia it is the custom to look at Papuan happenings through a magnifying glass, and to exaggerate, sometimes rather badly, any crime or disorder that may be reported from the Territory. Personally I am glad that Australians do take up this attitude; it

is complimentary to us, for it shows that they expect much, and it ensures that we shall never have too good a conceit of ourselves, or be too easily satisfied with what we have done.

For example, it was recently reported that a pig had been roasted alive in the Trobriand Islands. I was absent from the Territory at the time, but so far as I can make out it is true that a pig was put on the fire alive by some natives ; it appears that they thought that it was dead, but that it was only stunned. The natives concerned were prosecuted and convicted under the Ordinance relating to cruelty to animals, and it is difficult to see how anything more could have been done. Yet the report of the incident ran like wild fire through the Press of Australia, and even reached England and New Zealand, and was the occasion of some very lively attacks upon the Government, and especially—why, I cannot understand—upon the missions working in Papua. Yet I suppose that the practice of skinning living eels and boiling lobsters alive goes merrily forward without much comment, in communities which have many centuries of civilization and Christianity behind them.

CHAPTER V.

LAND.

Native Lands secured to Owners—Possibility of Refusal to Sell—Settlers must lease Land from Government—Freehold not allowed—Leases up to Ninety-nine Years subject to Rent and Improvement Conditions—Agricultural and Pastoral Leases—Purchase of Land from Natives—Delay in dealing with Applications—Islands of the East and South-east—Waste and Vacant Land—In Purchase of Land no Case of alleged Fraud or Oppression.

“Your lands will be secured to you ; your wives and children will be protected ” ; such was the conclusion of the proclamation issued by Commodore Erskine in 1884. And these words “your lands will be secured to you ” have been read, in spite of the subsequent annexation, as a binding promise that no native lands would ever be compulsorily resumed, even if the resumption should be necessary in the interests of settlement. This has always seemed to me an extraordinarily liberal and even an exaggerated interpretation to put on words which were almost certainly never intended to bear such a meaning. For the effect of the interpretation is to make it necessary, in every instance where land is required, except in the rare cases where no owner can be found, to obtain the consent of the native owner to the sale; and then to purchase it from him, of course at his own price, even though he may have obviously no use for the land, and it may be urgently needed for settlement.

Practically no inconvenience has resulted, but if the native owners had taken it into their heads not to sell, settlement would have been impossible. At one time, about sixteen

years ago, it looked as if this would be the case, and a Bill was proposed in Papua giving the Government powers of compulsory purchase, of course under proper safeguards ; but the Bill was disallowed in the Commonwealth. It proved afterwards that legislation was unnecessary, for the owners apparently changed their minds ; and it has not very often happened that land which has been applied for cannot be purchased. And in cases where the owner refuses to sell he usually has a good reason for his refusal.

The settler cannot deal with the native landowner direct ; the land is first bought by the Government, and then leased. It is all leasehold since 1906, for under the Papua Act no freehold can be granted. The sale by the native must be quite voluntary, and no land can be bought unless the Lieutenant-Governor is "satisfied that the land is not required or likely to be required by the owners."

Leases may be granted for any term up to ninety-nine years, and are subject to the payment of rent and the performance of improvement conditions. They are distinguished according to the purpose for which they are granted, and are known as leases for business purposes, residence leases, mission leases and the like ; but the most important distinction is between agricultural and pastoral leases, according as the land comprised in the lease has been classified as suitable for agriculture or as not suitable.

In the case of an agricultural lease for a term exceeding thirty years no rent is payable for the first ten years unless the lessee holds more than 1,000 acres, and for the second period of ten years the rent is fixed at five per cent. of the unimproved value, but is not to exceed sixpence per acre ; for the subsequent periods also it is fixed at five per cent. of the unimproved value. There are fresh assessments

every twenty years during the currency of the lease.

If the lease is for thirty years, or less, rent at the rate of five per cent. of the unimproved value is payable from the commencement.

Survey fees are charged only upon applications for more than 100 acres. So that if a settler applies for 100 acres for a term of more than thirty years he gets the land rent free for ten years and at a nominal rent afterwards, and he pays no survey fees. If the area is 1,000 acres there is still no rent for ten years, but the applicant must pay survey fees.

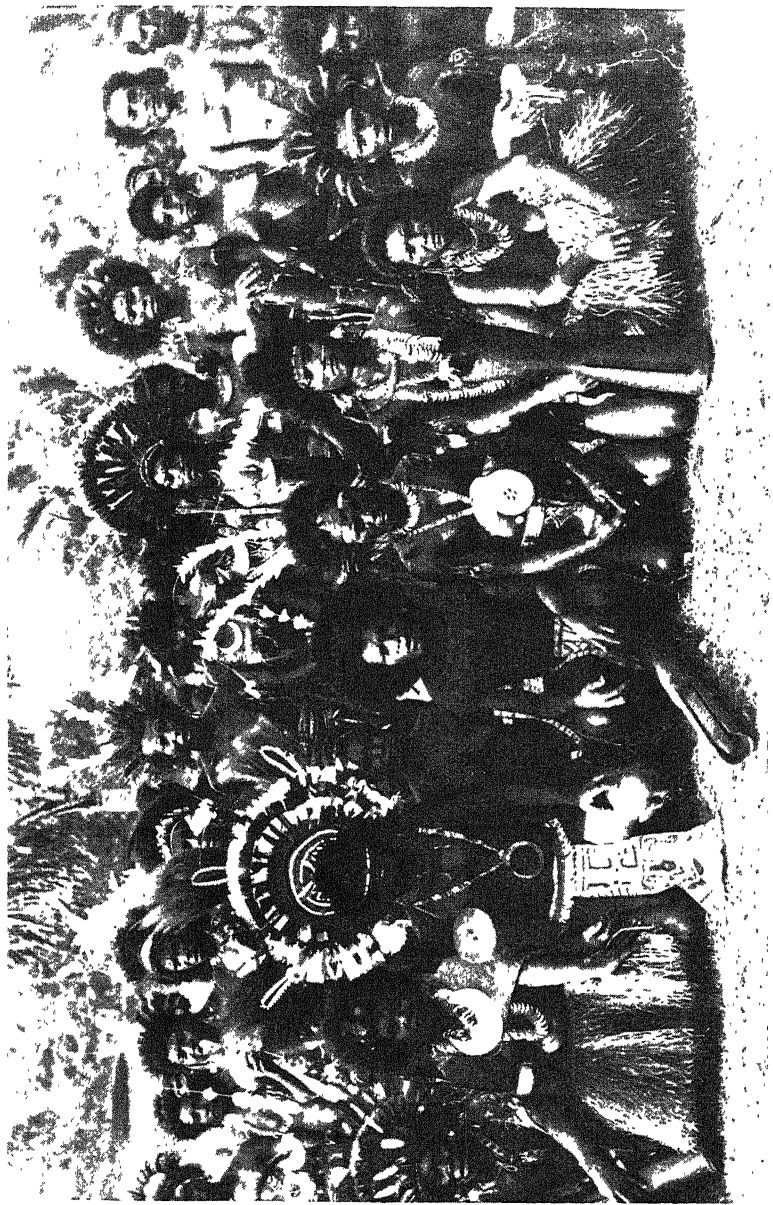
The provisions with regard to pastoral leases are on the same lines, but the rent is fixed at two and a half instead of five per cent. of the unimproved value, and during the second period of ten years (or the first period, in the case of leases for thirty years or less) the rent is not to exceed 10s. for every thousand acres.

The same rule as to survey fees applies in the case of pastoral as in the case of agricultural leases.

Leases are subject to improvement conditions ; the improvement may, at the option of the lessee, be agricultural or pastoral, or partly agricultural and partly pastoral.

Agricultural improvement conditions require, briefly, that one-fifth of the land be planted in five years, two-fifths in ten, and three-fifths in twenty. Land unsuitable for cultivation is excluded in considering these improvements ; so that if a settler had 250 acres of which only 200 were suitable for cultivation, the calculation would be made on the 200, not on the 250, and he would only have to plant 40, 80, and 120 acres in the five, ten and twenty years.

To comply with the pastoral improvements the land must be stocked within the ten years, and kept stocked during the term ; land upon which there are 20 head of



HEAD-DRESSES FOR A DANCE, PORT MORESBY

cattle or 100 head of sheep to the square mile is considered to be stocked. Half that number must be on the land within five years.

These terms are very liberal both as regards rent and as regards improvements, and they were purposely made very liberal in order to attract settlement, which had been frightened away by the tremendous mortality of the mining days, and the undeservedly bad reputation which Papua had acquired thereby. But they are, in fact, too liberal, and give opportunities to ingenious persons to make use of the land in a way which would not be to the advantage of the Territory as a whole.

The practice is to buy land that appears suitable for settlement as opportunity offers, so that there is generally a large area of Crown land open to applicants ; at the present moment, for instance, there are about 700,000 acres of Crown land in various parts of the Territory. It is sometimes urged that the Government should buy very much larger areas, in order to facilitate settlement, but it seems doubtful economy to do so. Land which has been purchased simply lies idle, of no use either to the natives or to anyone else, until the very uncertain date when it may be taken up by some intending settler ; and it is therefore likely to be of more use to the Territory if it is left in the hands of the natives until it is actually required.

The advantage of having an area of Crown land always available is that there is likely to be less loss of time in dealing with applications, since an application for Crown land can be dealt with at once, for no question of title can arise. There should be no delay when the application is for Crown lands, but delay no doubt does occur when the land which has been applied for must be bought from the natives. This is inevitable by reason of the uncer-

tainty of native titles, and from the difficulty which the native often finds in making up his mind ; and time is also required to ascertain whether the land is required or likely to be required by its owners.

The only complaint with regard to the land administration, so far as I am aware, beyond the inevitable charge of undue consideration for the interests of the natives, is that the delay in dealing with applications is unnecessarily great. Doubtless this charge is well grounded in some cases, but in many, and I think most, instances any delay there has been is due either to the fact that there has been a difficulty in finding the owners, or that the applicant has made some mistake in his application—either in his description of the land which he wants, or in his estimate of the area. Often several native owners claim the land, each perhaps with some show of justice ; but the difficult question really is to be sure that you have found all the owners and that all consent—that there are not still some outstanding claimants, who will come in later on, and complain that they are being robbed. Or it may happen that an applicant asks, e.g., for a certain piece of land comprising a valley between certain hills and which he estimates to contain 1,000 acres. The valley is bought and is found to contain only 600 ; the applicant wants another 400 acres, and this additional area is not there. The applicant in that case can never get his 1,000 acres, and he has in consequence a perennial ground of complaint.

It is of course inevitable that differences of opinion should occasionally arise as to whether a particular piece of land “is required, or likely to be required, by the owners.” The applicant and the Government look at the matter from such very different points of view that perfect agreement is

impossible. The question has assumed importance upon one or two occasions in connection with the islands of the east and south-east end of the Territory. The seas there are studded with the innumerable islets of the Louisiade and other groups, and some of these make excellent coconut plantations. The palms bear very rapidly, and the amount of copra produced per acre is high—half and even three-quarters of a ton per acre being not unknown. This is a tremendous yield for Papua, where the average is probably not more than a third of a ton. The islands have also the advantage of being easily rid of pests, and, as they are not heavily timbered, the cost of clearing is light. They have doubtless their disadvantages, one of which probably is that they will require manuring long before the mainland plantations; but the advantages are obvious and immediate, and are naturally very much exaggerated by popular rumour. Hence a general desire on the part of residents and others to take up islands as plantations. But the small islands, which are generally applied for, are very unfortunately also required by the natives. Even when they are quite uninhabited they are not without owners, who perhaps only visit the place to make a garden or to fish, and also they are used as recognized camping grounds by natives on their regular voyages from one island to another. It is urged that the lease to the planter would contain a reservation of the foreshore, and that the native could camp and fish there as before; but practically the combination of a plantation and a native camp is impossible. Consequently the Government, about twelve years ago, decided that it would not grant leases of any of these small islands; and that decision, though often challenged, has been acted upon ever since.

“Waste and vacant land,” that is land of which there

appears to be no owner, is subject to a special procedure which is provided in the Land Ordinance. The Lieutenant-Governor may declare by Order in Council that, unless cause be shown to the contrary, the land will after a certain time become Crown land. The Order in Council is published in the *Gazette* and, if cause is not shown, the land is vested in the Crown from the expiration of the time limited ; but the matter may be reopened if claim is made to the land at any time afterwards. The publication in the *Gazette* is, of course, no assistance to the native owner, who is not in the least likely to see the *Gazette*, and could not read it if he did ; but in fact I have never known of any land which was improperly dealt with as "waste and vacant." There is really not very much land of which there is no owner : that is to say, there is generally someone who puts in a claim for the land, though it may be that his title would not bear very strict investigation. For instance, land lying between hostile villages has probably no real owner, since before the establishment of peace the natives of both villages would be too much afraid of each other to occupy it ; but when the influence of the Government has put an end to hostilities someone is sure to claim it as his property, and in that case he would probably be treated as the owner.

It is highly creditable to officers who purchase the land from the natives that no real difficulty of title has ever arisen. Special provision has been made for a Board to investigate any claims which natives might have in connection with land alleged to have been improperly taken—e.g. by purchase from someone other than the owner. This was done to calm the fears of certain persons who had an idea that the Papuans were being robbed of their land ; but the Board has never met, for the reason that the few

mistakes which have been made have been easily corrected, and that no injustice has been alleged.

There has, in fact, been no great difficulty in connection with land, and I do not think that there will be ; for though Papua may not be a fertile country, still, there is plenty of good land yet, and it is labour, not land, that will be the limiting factor in Papuan agriculture.

That the land policy has been successful is, I think, clear from a comparison of the land taken up before 1907 and since. It appears that in June 1906 the land under lease amounted to 2,089 acres and the freehold land to 26,546. There could be no increase in the freehold (for no more could be granted), but the leasehold amounted in 1919 to 218,950 acres. There had, in fact, been a mild land boom as a result of the provisions of the Land Ordinance of 1906, which had been purposely made almost extravagantly liberal in order to bring Papua before the attention of the public in Australia, and which were amended later when it appeared that applications for land were likely to be too numerous to deal with.

It is satisfactory to note that but few applicants for land have gone away disappointed, for, if they have been unable to get the land they wanted, they have nearly always been able to get other land suitable for the plantation work which they intended to undertake; and also that all these large quantities of land (over a million acres) have been bought from the natives without a single instance of even alleged fraud or oppression. But otherwise there is nothing remarkable about the land administration ; there was plenty of land available and the native owners were generally willing to sell.

CHAPTER VI.

LABOUR.

Difficulties of Labour Problem in Papua—Papuan a Peasant Proprietor—No Experience of Despotism or Servitude—Alleyne Ireland's Alternatives—Forced Labour—Imported Labour—Scanty Population—Labour entirely Voluntary—Prospects in 1906—Capacity of Papuan to Learn—Indenture System and Free Labour—Indenture of Women—Term of Service—Necessity of maintaining the Village Life—Village Settlements on Plantations, Danger of—No Systematic Ill-treatment, but Work under Indenture not Popular—Reasons why a Native "Signs On"—Hitherto a Bare Sufficiency of Labour—Advance towards System of Free Labour.

LABOUR presented a much more difficult problem than land. Probably this is always the case, but the position in Papua was aggravated by several additional factors which are not always present elsewhere. For first of all the population was very small, and then the inhabitants were of the peasant-proprietor type, with land of their own sufficient as a rule to supply their simple wants; and the peasant-proprietor has never, in any part of the world, shown any great inclination to work for anyone but himself. Furthermore the Papuan had not been industrialized; he had had no experience of despotism or servitude, and he did not know what it was to have to work continuously in the service of another. The steady laborious life of the plantation would, it was thought, have no attraction for him. He had, to quote Lord Olivier,¹ no appreciation "of the claims of a job over the attractions of a passing whim"; and it was argued that none of the inferior races had ever worked except under the stress

¹ *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, p. 76.

of compulsion, and that, in the case of the Papuan, this compulsion would be absent.

Still, it was essential to find labour, for there could be no development without it.

In similar cases it has been assumed that there are only three possible solutions, and these are expressed by Mr. Alleyne Ireland, a well-known writer on tropical affairs, as follows: Either to abandon all idea of ever developing the country, or to force the natives to work, or to import labourers from outside.

Of these solutions the second, forced labour, was out of the question under an Australian Government. A case can be made for forced labour, just as a case can be made for most things, and at one time I was of opinion that something of the kind might be introduced with good results to the natives themselves; but further experience has convinced me that any such system would require such an extraordinary number of safeguards that it would, in practice, be unworkable. I have never concealed my opinion that it would be a most excellent thing if every native in the Territory went to work for a good employer for a period of twelve months, but he must go willingly; directly you begin to force him you meet with so many practical difficulties that it is far better, even in the interests of the employer, to give it up and to rely upon voluntary labour entirely.

The third of Mr. Ireland's solutions, "to leave the natives alone and bring in outsiders who will do the work"—that is, to rely upon imported labour—was equally out of the question. It was not likely that Australia, which had taken over the Territory for strategic reasons, would immediately proceed to fill it with aliens; nor was it probable that supporters of the White Australia policy would wel-

come the congregation of a large number of Asiatics, even though they might be British subjects, within so short a distance of the Australian coast.

It seemed, therefore, if Mr. Ireland was correct, that we should be driven back upon the first solution and be compelled to abandon the idea of development altogether—a confession of defeat which was, of course, impossible. And we should have been in a sorry plight indeed if the Papuan natives had refused to work, in accordance with the rather rash generalization referred to. Fortunately, however, it turned out otherwise : the Papuans did not refuse to work, and Mr. Ireland's dilemma was avoided.

Still, though the natives might be willing to work, the difficulty of numbers remained ; for the population was small, and, even supposing that all went to work who could be spared from the village life, the total would not be great. And it must be remembered that, in the case of Papua at any rate, when the Commonwealth said that labour was to be voluntary, it meant what it said. No hint might be given by the Magistrate that it was a good thing to go to work, no suggestion could be made that the Government would like to see the plantations fully manned, nothing whatever could be said or done by any Government officer to influence the recruit one way or the other. The Government must stand entirely neutral. Personally I think that the Commonwealth was quite right. I can understand and, under certain circumstances, even defend compulsory labour, and I can understand and approve voluntary labour, but a system which is neither one thing nor the other is, in my opinion, wholly evil.

If a Government officer is allowed to advise the native or to make suggestions about going to work there is likely, for a few years, to be a great influx of labour, for the “ advice ”



TABU FEAST, HANUABADA VILLAGE

or " suggestion " will be looked upon as a veiled command, so that the labour will not be really voluntary ; and then, when the native once realizes that the advice is not " loaded " —that there is no compelling power behind it—he will ignore it, and you will have a labour slump in proportion as the former supply was excessive.

There was no danger of this in Papua, for the officers all loyally obeyed their instructions, and " lay low " and said nothing. It was aggravating in the extreme to the recruiter, who knew that the slightest word from the Magistrate would decide the wavering recruit to " sign on," but who knew equally well that that word would never be uttered ; but it was the right policy, and, though it even created an impression with some that officers were opposed to recruiting, neither the Commonwealth nor the Papuan Government ever wavered in carrying it out.

With a small population and a strict adherence to the voluntary system it was not likely that many labourers would offer themselves; and furthermore, when the Australian Administration began in 1906, it did not seem probable that the quality of the labour would be particularly good. At that time the Territory was not under control to anything like such an extent as it is now. A large proportion of the inhabitants then were head-hunters or cannibals, and all were then, as indeed they are now, still in the Stone Age, except for the knives and axes which they got from the settlers ; and we did not dare to hope that in a few years the head-hunting cannibals of the Purari Delta would be working contentedly as navvies on the Port Moresby roads.

The one hopeful feature was that the Papuans had, in fact, worked, and worked well, for the gold miners, and there seemed to be no reason why they should not work

equally well for others; but we were constantly being told by people who had never been to Papua that it was ridiculous to expect that our natives would ever take to plantation work. The natives, it was argued, had everything they wanted—why, then, should they go to work? And, further, we were told that, if they did go to work, they would be useless, so stupid were they, and so lazy. Yet it turned out that in less than ten years the number of “signed-on boys” had increased nearly fourfold, the area under cultivation had increased more than twentyfold, and the lazy and stupid Papuan had proved himself thoroughly competent at any work he was put to, from tapping rubber to driving an oil-launch, from administering anæsthetics in the operating ward to the installation of telephones.

There are two systems of labour recognized in the tropics—the indenture system, and the system of free labour. Under the former the native is bound to work, and the employer to maintain him and pay him wages, during a fixed term; under the latter he can leave at any time, and may be discharged at any time, on a short notice. Naturally the former system requires much more stringent and much more detailed regulations than the latter.

Indentured labour is common in the Pacific, e.g. in the Solomons, Fiji, and the former German New Guinea, and it exists side by side with free labour in the Federated Malay States and elsewhere; free labour exists in, among other places, Ceylon, the Federated Malay States, and Java.

The importation of labour from other countries has, I believe, come to an end in the Crown Colonies throughout the Empire; but by a curious chance it is maintained in the last place where one would look for it—under the New Zealand administration of the mandated territory of

Samoa.¹ It is justified there by necessity ; the Samoans apparently will not work for an employer, and the plantations, which under the German rule were worked with labour from outside, must continue to be so worked or else collapse. The labour imported is Chinese ; under the German administration it came, partly at any rate, from German New Guinea, but this source of supply is now closed.

However, this does not concern us in Papua, for we have never imported labour, and are not likely to; and the indenture system as applied to indigenous labour is free from many of the difficulties which are inseparable from the importation of indentured labour from abroad.

Still, any system of indenture is open to objection, for there is too much compulsion about it on the side both of the employer and of the employee ; and as a permanent institution it cannot be looked upon as satisfactory.

Free labour, however, postulates certain qualities which the Papuan lacks, but which we hope he may eventually acquire, that is, determination and perseverance—the power to make up his mind, to decide what he wants and then to stick to it.

Free labour was, therefore, out of the question in Papua, and the only alternative was to adopt the system of indenture that was already in existence, and to try to work through that system to an ultimate ideal of free labour. This can only be done by a very gradual and careful modification of the restrictions incidental to indenture, and by an avoidance of anything that might have the effect of stereotyping that system as a permanent part of our policy. It will not be in this generation that we shall be able to substitute free labour for indenture, but free labour is

¹ The labour is not imported under the usual system of indenture, but under a three-years' engagement.

surely the system which we must seek to establish eventually.

All systems of indenture are much the same, for in each case the regulations have practically the same object and deal with practically the same things—the term of the contract, the number of hours to be worked, the method of payment, rations, accommodation, medical attendance—and our regulations in Papua, so far as I am aware, are neither better nor worse than those in force elsewhere. Of course in the majority of cases it is impossible to enforce regulations which deal with the internal economy of the plantation ; for instance, it is rather hopeless to try to get a conviction for working more than the regular number of hours with Papuan witnesses who can only count up to two. But I do not think that these regulations are therefore altogether useless. On the contrary, I think they have a distinct effect in setting a standard. For instance, if you have a regulation limiting the number of hours to be worked in a day, it may be that the regulation will not be strictly observed ; but the hours worked will be less than if there were no regulation at all.

I think that we may take it that all systems of indenture are practically the same in all British dependencies in the Pacific ; the main difference being, so our critics have assured us, that in Papua the regulations are enforced, whereas in more favoured lands they were only kept for show. But there is one very real question of principle in which Papua differs from some territories, though it agrees with other British possessions such as the Solomons and Fiji, and that is the indenture of women. I may say at once that I am entirely opposed to the indenture of women, except for domestic service under a married woman ; it is not allowed in Papua or in any British possession in the

Pacific. Even in Fiji, when the importation of Indian women under indenture was allowed, the native Fijian women were expressly excepted from the Labour Ordinance.

The arguments usually put forward to support the indenture of women are :—

- (1) That the men are more contented if they have their wives with them—of course in any case only wives accompanied by their husbands would be recruited, for the indenture of single women is merely open prostitution ;
- (2) That the decrease of population, which is likely to ensue if a large number of men leave their villages to go to work, is prevented if the men bring their wives with them ; and
- (3) That if there are no women, unnatural vice will prevail among the labourers.

As to (1) it must be remembered that this can apply only to the small number of men who bring their wives with them ; the unmarried men will most certainly not be made any more contented.

With regard to (2) and (3) it is not too much to say that these arguments are not seriously intended, and are put forward merely as an afterthought. It is improbable that these women will bear and rear families, and I believe that as a matter of fact they do not ; they miss the traditional precautions which surround a pregnant woman in her village. Then the numbers of these women are so small that their presence can have no effect upon the practice of unnatural vice—assuming this vice to be prevalent. In Papua it is rare. The proportion of women to men in the late German territory when I was there in 1919 was less than 7 per cent. ; and if there is going to be unnatural vice it is obvious that so small a number of women can

have little or no effect in checking it, even assuming that the indentured women are all prostitutes. And of course in theory they are supposed to be respectable married women living happily with their husbands.

There is further an argument against the indenture of women which seems to me to be conclusive. There are in questions of native administration two systems which we may distinguish as A and B. Both systems aim at the development of the natural resources of the country, but system A says that they should be developed by the native working as a servant of the white man; while system B says that they should also, so far as possible, be developed by the native working for himself. Practically every one who takes any interest in natives would support system B, and it is essential for the operation of this system that the native villages should be preserved, for it is from them that the development will proceed. The supporters of system A, on the other hand, who would develop everything by means of white capital employing native labour, are less interested in the conservation of the village life; and might in some cases even prefer that the villages should be broken up, and the native families reduced to live practically as serfs upon the plantations. Now the villages can never be broken up if you keep the women in them—the men may drift away, but they will come back if the women are there; but if the women go away too the village life is in danger. Hence we, the supporters of system B, can never approve of the indenture of women. Much the same argument applies to the indenture of children.

Another important point is the term of service under indenture. Broadly speaking, one may say that it is to the interest of the employer to make the term as long as possible, and to the interest of the native labourer to make it

short ; and you will even find in some places that the minimum term is fixed at three years. Under such conditions the native who wishes to go to work for, say, twelve months, cannot do so, but must "sign on" for the full term of three years. The danger is that he may elect not to "sign on" at all, but the employer takes the risk of this, the hardship to the native is obvious.

In Papua the maximum term is three years, there is no minimum, and the average term is somewhere about eighteen months. A native cannot be kept away from his village under successive contracts for a longer period than four years, except under certain circumstances, and with the consent of the Commissioner for Native Affairs.

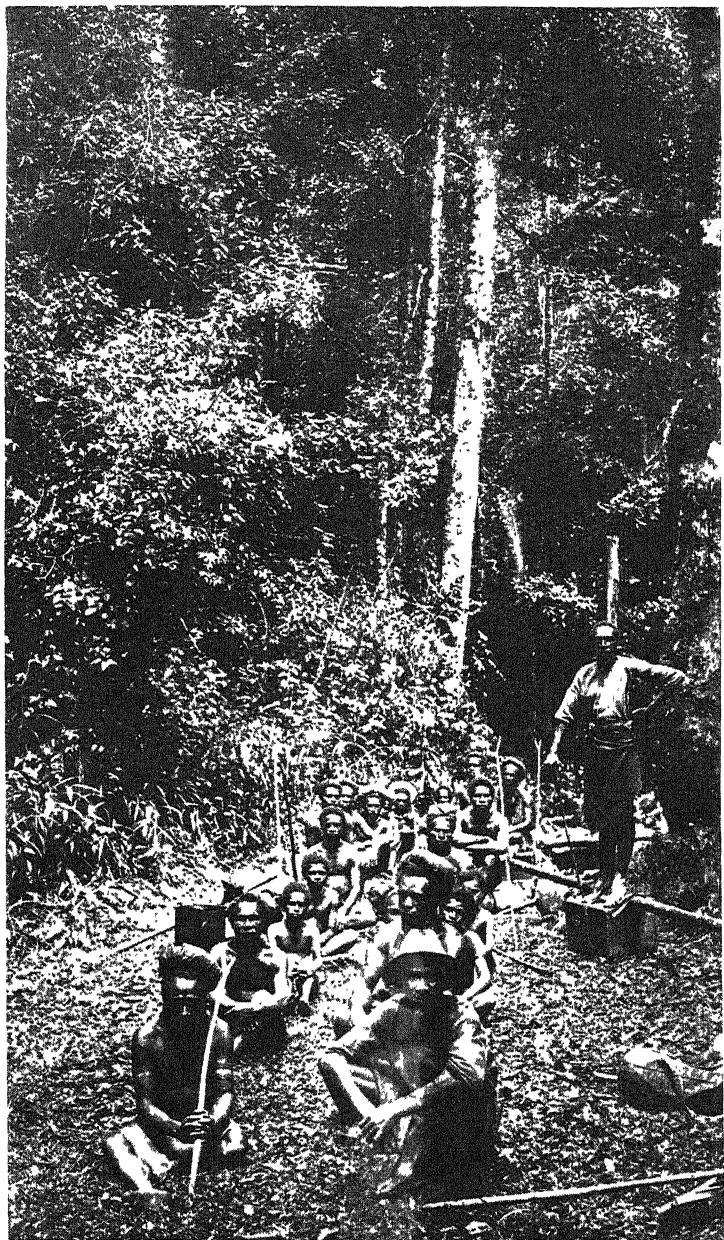
It is the necessity of maintaining the village life that induces all these precautions. If the native drifts away from his village and works on a plantation for an indefinite number of three-year periods the plantation eventually becomes his home, and from being a peasant-proprietor, which he was in his village, he becomes entirely dependent on the wages and rations he can earn as a labourer. It was suggested at one time that labourers should form settlements or villages of their own on the estates on which they are employed, signing on from time to time, but going home at night to their families who would be living in this plantation settlement. Schools would be provided and a church, and the women and children might be employed at such light work as was required; in addition to which they might be allowed a plot of land for each family as a garden.

The scheme was attractive enough, but on examination it was seen that the result would be the economic ruin of the natives, and their transformation into landless men, entirely dependent on the plantation for a livelihood;

it might ensure a cheap labour supply, but it is hardly consistent with the theory of the "sacred trust."

I have often said, and I say again, that there is not, and, so far as I know, never has been, any systematic ill-treatment of labour in Papua; but in spite of this fact, and in spite of the fact that many employers go out of their way to make indentured labour as little irksome as possible to the native, I do not think that labour under indenture will ever become popular with the natives of Papua, or will ever be adopted by them as part of their ordinary scheme of life. I am, of course, aware that a certain amount of cruelty and oppression is probably inseparable from the control by a superior race of an inferior race of different colour, but even if all this could be abolished, although more men would doubtless come to work than are coming now, I should feel doubtful whether the system could ever be really popular.

And unfortunately this cruelty and oppression has not been, and I suppose never will be, completely abolished; the casual and unintentional brutality which arises from a lack of sympathy and comprehension is, I fear, inevitable. At the time when we anticipated a "slump" in the labour supply, in 1919, I questioned a number of "boys," who had been working on plantations, in order to discover why the usual number of recruits was not forthcoming. I came to the conclusion that the chief reason was that, on account of the difficulty which employers had in getting rice, a rice ration was not generally issued to labourers; but I was rather impressed by the account of plantation life which was given to me by a "boy" whom I had known before. He quite agreed about the rice, but he said that in any case he would never go to work again. "Even when there is rice," he said, "we don't get enough to eat.



CARRIERS RESTING ON THE CREST OF BARUWAMA HILL, NEAR NAURU

The Taubada (master) is not to blame ; he gives out enough from the store, but it is badly distributed, and the boys at the end of the line often go short. Then," he continued, " we are always being knocked about. We are not badly beaten, nothing bad enough to leave a mark, but we are always having our hair pulled, or having our ears boxed, or being kicked or slapped. It does not hurt much, but it goes on all the time." " Why don't you complain to the Government Inspector when he comes around ? " I inquired. But he laughed. " What is the good of telling him ? " he said. " The white man would say he had not hit me, and the Inspector would ask me to show the marks—and there are no marks ; they do not hit us hard enough to leave a mark. So he would not believe me and he would send me back to my work. And then what sort of a time would I have after the Inspector had left ? "

There is probably very much less of this slapping and cuffing now than there was then. And there is one very offensive form of cruelty which I think is certainly decreasing ; " boys " are, I suppose, still occasionally flogged, but one does not so often hear the explanation that the flogging was administered quite against the flogger's will, and entirely from altruistic motives, for the boy's own good, and for the good of the Papuan race in general.

This unctuous rubbish was common enough not very long ago, and, so strange are the workings of the human mind, I do not think that it was altogether hypocrisy ; that is to say, I think that there were a certain number of people who really were convinced that it was their duty to beat any native who did not do what they wanted, so long as they could be sure that the native would not beat them back.

For nowadays the native occasionally does hit back, and

sometimes he hits rather hard. There are a few of them who have picked up the rudiments of boxing, and they are beginning to realize that in a fight, if they keep on long enough, they are likely to win, for their condition is generally better than that of the white man, and their power of endurance greater. Apart altogether from any question of humanity, and apart also from any question of the probable effect on the labour supply, it would seem that the possibility of a fight in which the white man might be beaten is a very cogent reason against any attempt to inflict corporal punishment upon a native. Much is talked about the "prestige" of the white man in the tropics, and about the care which should be taken to keep it unimpaired; but surely nothing can have a more disastrous effect upon this prestige than the sight of a white man being badly pummelled by a native whom he has sought to thrash, or of two white men combining to beat a native whom each is afraid to meet single-handed. So it is devoutly to be hoped that those who conceive it to be their duty to administer physical correction to the black man will realize that it is also their duty to learn to fight, so that they shall not bring disgrace upon the rest of us when the black man turns and hits back.

It has often been a source of wonder to me and to many others that a native should ever "sign on" to work at all. One can indeed understand that natives of the Western and Delta Divisions should be ready to escape from the mud and slush of their ordinary surroundings and their everlasting diet of sago, and to go anywhere else in the world; but it is hard to see why the natives of the coastal villages of, for instance, the Central Division, or the islands of the east and south-east, should ever leave their homes to go and work in a mine or on a plantation. It is not lack of food

that impels them, because in times of scarcity they generally remain in the village to look after their wives and children. But the fact remains that they do go to work, and that many of them go again and again.

One may conjecture that one reason which induces the young men to go is a growing impatience of the authority of the older men ; this is one of the inevitable, and, in my opinion, regrettable results of European " penetration " among a primitive race, however peaceful and well-meaning the penetration may be. The young men often feel the air of the village intolerable to them, and, if a recruiter comes along at the psychological moment, away they go to work.

Then there are some who want money for some particular purpose of their own. Perhaps they are members of a syndicate who want to buy a boat, or they have been deputed to earn the tax money of their relatives; and there are others who are crossed in love, or have had a quarrel with their parents, or who have by nature an adventurous disposition. All these and others go to work, for the hundred and one reasons that used to induce young men to join the British army.

There are others, again, who like the plantation life or the life on the mine. They are attracted by the number of their fellow-workers, for they like to be one of a crowd, they are well fed, the work after a time is easy to them, and probably the untravelled members of their village seem to them uncommonly bourgeois and second-rate, and the village life simply impossible.

Still, I do not think that many would go to work if it were not for the personality and, probably, the blandishments of the recruiter. A " good " recruiter, that is, a popular man with a personality, will go into a village and often get

"boys," although before he came none of them had the slightest intention of "signing on." If there were no recruiting, and the initiative were left to the "boys," I think that comparatively few would present themselves.

So far there has always been, roughly speaking, enough labour available to carry on the work of the Territory, but nevertheless the employer is in a constant state of anxiety about the future. He has enough labour for the moment, but perhaps thirty of his "boys" are time-expired in six weeks, and twenty more in three months, and how can he be sure that he will be able to replace them in time to prevent his work from going back? This is a real difficulty even if, as a matter of fact, he always does replace them, because the uncertainty makes it impossible for him to be sure of carrying out a definite programme of work.

There seems to be no remedy for this uncertainty, which is probably inseparable from the settlement of a sparsely populated country, dependent entirely upon indigenous and voluntary labour. Certainly it would be no remedy to increase the term of employment from the present maximum (three years) to say five or seven, and with still greater certainty the state of things would be no better if the indenture system were abolished.

It must be remembered that the indenture protects the labourer at least as much as the employer, and that it would perhaps be the labourer who would suffer most if the system were abolished too soon. An unscrupulous employer can do pretty well what he likes with a raw native if there is no indenture—he can pay him as little as he likes, feed him as poorly as he likes, work him as hard as he likes, and cast him out when he likes; and even with the best employer the native is likely to be at a disadvantage, for there are many things provided for in the indenture which

the native, making a bargain for himself, would never think of. From the employer's point of view the chief objection to free labour is that he can never be sure of having enough labour to carry on with ; every labourer he had might leave him within a week.

Progress towards the establishment of free labour must be very slow, partly for the reason that, as recruiting extends, fresh tribes of raw and utterly ignorant natives will come in as labourers who must be bound strictly or they will never do their work, and who, on the other hand, require all the guidance and protection that the existing law can give them. The most important advance in the direction of free labour has been by a provision exempting certain natives from indenture under certain circumstances; but I understand that no one, either employer or employed, has so far made any use of this provision. It has been thought sometimes that it would be possible to exempt the natives of certain districts from indenture altogether; or to increase the period (now fixed at three months) during which such natives might work as free, or, as it is called in Papua, "casual," labourers. But this would involve an alteration of the law, and the general opinion has been against it.

CHAPTER VII.

LABOUR (*continued*).

Alleged Harshness of Labour Administration—Charges of “Coddling” and “Pampering” the Native—Corporal Punishment—As a rule no Economic Compulsion upon Papuan to go to Work—Improved Relations between Labourer and Employer—Labour Supply limited by Population—Government Recruiting—Female Labour—Comparison between Papuan and other Labourers—Labour Troubles—Less now than in former Years—Language Difficulty—Management of Native Labour a Peculiar Gift—Actual Cruelty Rare—Company as Employer—Relations on the Whole Satisfactory.

It has in the past been a common complaint by employers of labour that the administration of the Papuan Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations, which are much the same as those in force in other countries where labour is employed under indenture, has been too harsh. Such complaints have generally been made in connection with inspections of plantations by officers of the Department of Native Affairs, who, it was said, were too fond of “coddling” the native and of harassing the employer.

It is of course quite possible that an officer may take too strict and narrow a view of his duties, but I do not think that it has been so in this particular instance. At least the most searching inquiry that I have been able to make has revealed nothing of the kind ; and I am fortified in my conclusion that no fault is to be found with the officers by the fact that exactly the same complaints seem to be made against Government officers elsewhere, also apparently without foundation. It is really illuminating to take a publication like the report of the Inquiry into Native

Grievances in South Africa, 1913-14, or of the East Africa Protectorate Native Labour Commission, 1912-13, and to note the extraordinarily close correspondence between the questions which have been raised in connection with native labour in those colonies and the difficulties which we have had in Papua, and, especially in the case of East Africa (the Kenya Colony of to-day), the complaints which are made against the Government and its officers.

One instance will be sufficient. It has been urged in Papua that, where a white man is convicted of an offence against a native, sentence should be passed *in camera*, in the interests of discipline, and concealed from the complainant. This practice has actually been adopted in South Africa, but is disapproved by the Commissioner appointed to inquire into Native Grievances for exactly the same reasons as those which have influenced us in Papua. "I do not think this course is wise," it is there stated. "Discipline is not maintained by maintaining a transparent fiction of infallibility on the part of the superiors ; and a grievance is not effectually redressed unless it is known to be redressed."¹

Charges against the administration of "pampering" and "coddling" the native are almost a matter of course in any country where white men employ an inferior race to work for them ; and it may be that the absence of such charges would be good grounds for suspecting that the native was being inadequately protected. I do not mean to imply that the charges were insincere ; doubtless those who made them believed them to be well founded, but their belief was generally based upon a conception of the duty owing by the native to the European which could hardly be accepted by any British Government.

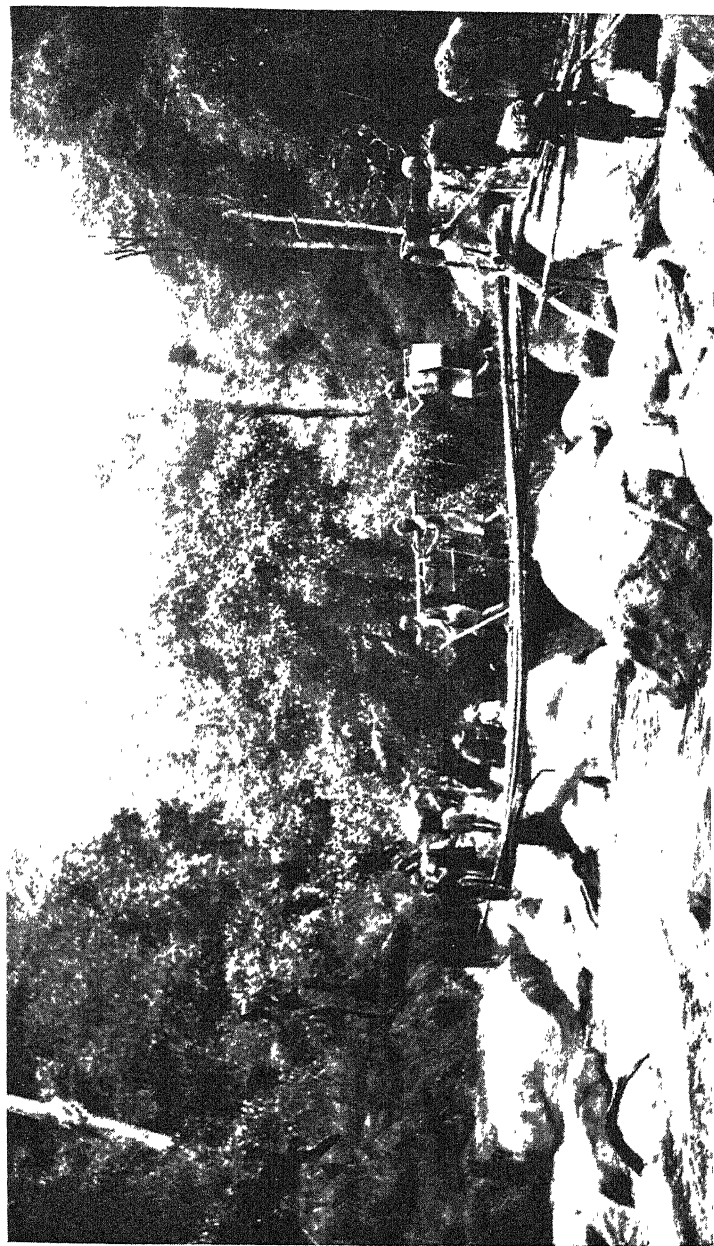
¹ See Report, p. 20.

For instance, one meets high-minded and intelligent men who hold as faith that the coloured man was created to serve the white man, and that the sole duty of the native is to work for a white employer; and who have even succeeded in persuading themselves that the white employer of the native is not only justified in flogging him if he does wrong, but is even bound in duty to do so. I must admit that they generally avoid the use of the word "flog" and prefer to speak of "corporal punishment"; but to the native who is "punished" the precise form of words can make but little difference. The Bishop of Zanzibar¹ has expressed himself as not averse to corporal punishment, so I suppose that some sort of a case can be made out for it, and I think that there can be no doubt that a Papuan (or, probably, any other man) working under the lash would, as a rule, do a great deal more than his fellow who was working under more humane conditions; but practically anything of the kind is out of the question in any British community. Personally, with all due respect to the Bishop and every one else, I think that the practice is really indefensible; it is in my opinion a step in the wrong direction—it is going backwards instead of forwards. And I think further that, in Papua at any rate, it would mean the end of recruiting, for I agree entirely with what Sir Frederick Lugard says in his report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria (1920)²—"Employers must make the conditions of service sufficiently attractive to secure the labourers they need Labour will be secured only by kind and fair treatment, decent hutments, the entire absence of blows and rough usage."

This is particularly the case in Papua, for it must be

¹ In his pamphlet, *The Black Slaves of Prussia*.

² See para. 107, p. 44.



CARRIERS CROSSING BRIDGE OVER YODDA AT OILA, NORTHERN DIVISION

remembered that our natives, unlike, e.g., the Tamils in India, are usually under no strong economic compulsion to go to work, for they can, as a rule, live fairly well in their villages ; that is to say, they will, generally speaking, have enough to eat, though they may have to do without the various European articles to which they have been accustomed. They suffer severely, at times, and in certain parts, from drought and famine, but as a rule they can get enough bush food (even in times of drought) to keep themselves alive ; and in fact it is often at these times that they are least anxious to go to work—they prefer, they say, to stay with their families and help them through. And their answer to any cruelty or ill-treatment would be simply a refusal to work, which (if persisted in) would speedily bring the Territory to ruin, for all our development depends upon the native.

But there has been no such general refusal, and in the Annual Report for 1914-15 I was able, after dealing with the satisfactory state of the labour supply and explaining that most of the recruits seemed still to come from the old recruiting grounds, to attribute the increase in the number of labourers to “ the fact that the natives are getting more familiar with the white man’s ways and more dependent on the white man’s goods, and to the fact that the labourer, in the great majority of cases, can rely upon receiving fair treatment.” Then, after saying that there had never, so far as I knew, been anything like systematic ill-treatment of natives either by miners or by planters, and that I thought that the treatment received by labourers was better than it used to be, I went on :—

“ The improvement is partly due to the fact that planter and plantation labourer have come to understand one another better, and partly to the activity of the officers of the Native Affairs Department in

seeing that the requirements of the Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations are carried out. Hitherto it has not often been considered necessary to prosecute ; in many instances where the Ordinance and Regulations have not been complied with it has been found sufficient to call the attention of the manager to the omission. As a result of the action of this Department the condition of the labourers generally (especially as regards their housing) has distinctly improved of late years, and work on plantations has in consequence become more popular."

I do not think that it is possible to give the exact number of labourers who are at work at any given moment in Papua, though in the more recent years one can get very near it. It has been said that there were nearly 13,000 natives working in 1914, just before the war, but over 3,000 of these were "casuals"—that is, labourers not under indenture, whose number can only be guessed, and who work for any period not exceeding three months. Probably there were about 10,000 indentured labourers working during that year—about five times as many as in 1906. This number increased probably to 12,000 in 1918-19 ; in that year 8,610 "boys" "signed" on—the largest number in any year.

This is of course an absurdly small number compared with the hordes of men working in, for instance, the Federated Malay States and Ceylon, but I do not think that it is ever likely to be very much greater. Some years ago I estimated that the largest number of labourers we could ever hope to have regularly employed in Papua, assuming that the Territory was completely pacified and that recruiting was organized on the most effective system, did not exceed 20,000. In the light of further experience I am not prepared to say that it would be impossible to find 20,000, but I do not think that we are likely, at any rate for some time to come, to get nearly so many, although the

pacification of the Territory has had the effect of largely increasing the field of recruiting.

The year 1919-20 saw a decrease in the number recruited of over 2,000, from 8,610 to 6,397, but it appears to have been due principally to a temporary difficulty in providing rice, and to the dissatisfaction of the labourers with the substituted foods. At present there seems to be no difficulty in getting all the labour that is required, but the demand is less than it used to be; principally because there is little or no clearing being done, and because cattle are being used instead of labour to keep the grass down in the coco-nut plantations.

I think that the labour supply is capable of expansion, but it is difficult to say to what extent. All we can be sure of is that the supply is not capable of indefinite increase, and, further, that as a matter of administration it is not desirable to allow the villages to be depleted of their young men, even if they are willing to go.

Government recruiting has been suggested as a method by which the labour supply might be increased, but there is no reason to suppose that the Government could get labour for other people any more readily than a private recruiter could; and Government recruiting would, I fear, only be successful if the natives thought that it was a matter of compulsion.

A suggestion which has received careful consideration is that women should be "signed on" as well as men. I have already shown that this would be inconsistent with our system of administration. Under the present law a woman may accompany her husband on to a plantation where he has contracted to work, and, if she likes to work, she may, but she must be paid for it; also she must be provided with food and decent accommodation. Few

women take advantage of this permission, and I should think that, unless regular employment can be found which they are willing to accept, they probably cause more trouble than they are worth. They cannot be "signed on."

But these suggestions, even if they were all adopted and all proved successful, could not amount to more than temporary palliatives, for, after all, the real labour difficulty arises from the sparseness of population, and is one which no legislative or administrative skill can remove. All the Administration can do is to see that a "boy," when he does "sign on," is fairly treated, sufficiently fed, and decently housed, so that he and his friends may be encouraged to "sign on" again, and, further, to see that the Government influence is extended throughout the Territory so as to enlarge the area for recruiting. This has been done; but nothing that we can do can increase the population, except by very slow degrees. And it should never be forgotten that over-recruiting may have a disastrous effect upon the future of the Territory, and may necessitate the absolute prohibition of recruiting in the districts affected.

This is one of the points on which the Government and the employer are likely to come into the sharpest conflict. Anyone, of course, will admit the abstract proposition that the Government should take care that recruiting is not carried so far as to cause a diminution of population in a district; and, further, that if such a result appears probable it is the Government's duty to prevent it, even, if necessary, by closing the district altogether. But in any particular case the action of the Government would almost certainly be loudly condemned.

Subject to what I have said the labour problem is really one which, in a large degree, may be solved by the employers themselves; and those employers, and they are many, who

treat their labour well are all assisting to solve it. But it should never be forgotten that the limiting factor is the lack of population.

So much for the quantity of Papuan labour ; as to its quality it is very difficult to express an opinion. For one thing the labour varies according to the part of the Territory it comes from ; for instance, the Northern "boys" are stronger than the islanders, but the islanders are more biddable and more willing, and though both kinds are good they are not equally good for the same kind of work. Then some of the labour that comes from the sago swamps of the western rivers is, I think, really bad. These people have, many of them, no gardens and live principally on sago and grubs, and their physique and apparent intelligence is such as one might expect ; they have as a rule an unhappy time as labourers, and usually one term is enough for them and also for their employer, though if they remained for a longer period they would probably improve beyond recognition, as in fact men from the same district do when they serve in the police.

In road-making and similar heavy work it has been calculated that four Papuans will do as much work in a day as one Australian navvy would do working in a temperate climate, which seems to me to be a very satisfactory output for the Papuan, considering the relative wage ; and in mining he shows equally well, according to, I think, the unanimous opinion of all who have employed him.

How he compares with, for instance, the Tamil in agricultural work, is difficult to say, for there is no common measure. A priori one would expect the industrial races of Asia to be immeasurably superior to the non-industrial tribes of Papua, who, barely a generation ago, were still in a state of utter savagery, but, in fact, the difference—if

there is one—does not appear to be very great. Enthusiasts will boast that one Papuan is equal to six Tamils, and pessimists will lament that one Tamil is equal to six Papuans, but I have been told by a planter who has had experience of both that the Tamil really is rather better than the Papuan in ordinary plantation work—100 Tamils, he said, would do as much as 125 Papuans of the best type—but that for clearing and similar hard work there was no appreciable difference. Certainly physically the natives of, e.g., the mouth of the Fly, the eastern coast of the Gulf, and the northern rivers, appear to be vastly superior to any Tamil that ever lived; and it can only be a question of time, and a very short time, before they become their superiors at any kind of work.

Comparing Papuan labour with that of the Mandated Territory or the Solomons, I can see no real difference; planters seem to employ about the same number of “boys” to the same area of coco-nuts, whether the “boys” be Papuan, New Guinea, or Solomon Islanders, so I suppose that we may take it that the work done by an individual “boy” in each case is about the same.¹ Possibly the Solomon Islanders who have been working in Queensland may be inclined to set a more rapid pace and so “speed up” the rest of the gang, and I have heard that it is so; but I doubt if the acceleration would prove lasting—the energy which may have been well enough in Queensland would soon yield to the relaxing influences of the island climate.

On the whole, I do not think that we have any cause to be dissatisfied with the Papuan as a labourer. As a skilled

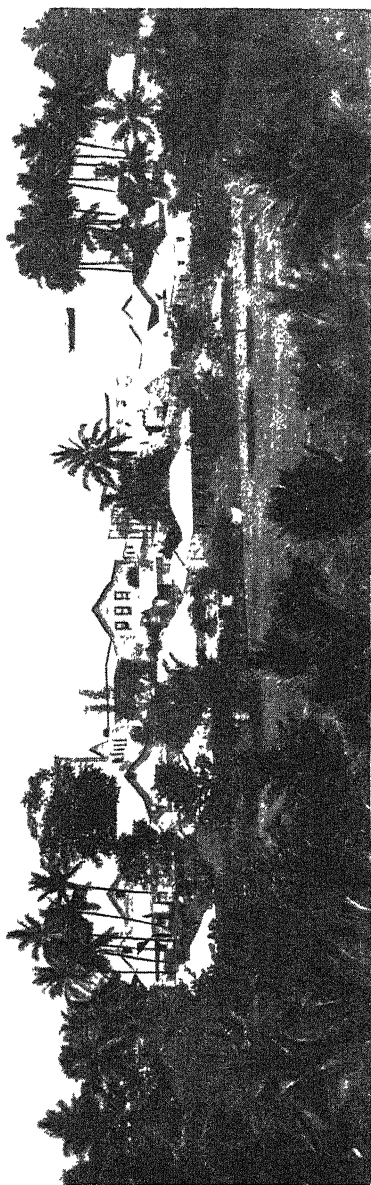
¹ In the Report on the Mandated Territory of New Guinea to the League of Nations the low rate of wage (half that usual in Papua) is justified by the statement that a native of that Territory only does about half as much work as a native of Papua. See Report, para. 201, p. 52.

labourer he has as yet hardly been tried, though where he has been tried he has been a conspicuous success ; but at present we are more concerned with him as an unskilled labourer. He is denounced as lazy and stupid and all the rest of it, and no doubt there are lazy Papuans and stupid Papuans as well, and there are other Papuans whose inattention and lack of interest in their work is calculated to drive a white man mad; but these are the exceptions, for the Papuan, if he is well treated and understands what he has to do, will generally do his work well. But often he does not understand what he has to do, for he has but little English, and his master's instructions are perhaps expressed to him in a forcible and picturesque stream of language which no one but a born Australian could understand ; and occasionally, too, the master does not know how to do the work himself. In that case he obviously cannot explain to the native how to do it : the work is consequently not done, and the master excuses his incompetence by putting the blame on the stupidity of the Papuan.

Of late there has been little trouble with regard to native labour, partly perhaps because the demand for labour has not been so great. When there is a large demand every possible recruit is scraped up and brought in to the Magistrate, and no doubt a certain number of "boys" are passed who are really physically unfit ; but there is much less danger of this when the demand is less and recruiters can pick and choose. Probably a very large percentage of the "boys" now under indenture have been to work before ; these "boys" know exactly what to do and are not likely to give trouble. The employers and overseers also are getting used to the "boys," and probably display more skill and tact in management than some of their predecessors did in past years.

There have been labour troubles in the past, mainly because some of the white men concerned lacked patience and tact, and did not possess that peculiar gift which seems to be necessary for the successful management of native labour, and because some of the labourers, finding the life intolerable with its regular hours and its discipline, were inclined to shirk their work, and had but one idea in their heads—to get home to their village as soon as possible. There were also individual white men who sought to conceal their incompetence by extreme severity towards the labourers immediately under their charge; and others again who were so impressed by a sense of their superiority that they would make no effort to understand their racial inferiors. And there were “boys” who were dishonest, and who would not scruple to bring any charge, though quite unfounded, against their employer in order to “pay back” for some, perhaps, imaginary injury, or in order to have their contracts cancelled and to be sent back home. It must not be supposed that the fault is necessarily on the side of the employer, for even in the fights and assaults that occasionally take place the white man is not always the aggressor. Every case demands a very careful sifting of evidence, and to assume that the white man is always in the wrong is just as great a mistake as to assume that he is always in the right.

Instances of cruel and brutal employers were rare, and the “boys” got to know them, and would not “sign on” for plantations where these men were stationed. The natives in one part of the Territory had a regular game which was supposed to represent the management of labour on a certain plantation. One “boy” would get on the shoulders of another, with a long stick in his hand, representing the manager on horseback with his stock-whip, and the others



VIEW OF SAMARAI

would all climb trees to escape him. A recruiter arrived on the scene about this time, seeking labourers for this very plantation, but in vain—"No b——y fear" was the instantaneous and unanimous reply.

It is doubtless true that the interests of employer and employed are identical in the long run, but at any given moment they are diametrically opposed, and we have been fortunate in Papua in reconciling these interests as well as we have; but it was not done without a struggle, and both employer and employed had to learn from experience. It is comparatively easy for an individual to come to terms with his "boys," but the matter is complicated in the case of a Company. For there the manager, who employs the labour, is himself a servant, and is bound in duty to protect the interests of the Company, to increase the returns and to reduce the expenses; while the shareholders, many hundreds of miles away, and completely ignorant of local conditions, are clamouring for dividends and retrenchment.

However, it must not be supposed that a Company is necessarily a bad employer, for the management of many Companies is all that could be desired. There is, for instance, a Company which is developing a copper mine near Port Moresby, and which employs 1,000 native labourers. The Company's works are within an easy day's walk of Port Moresby, and any of the "boys" who had, or fancied he had, a grievance, could leave his camp in the evening and be at the office of the Native Affairs Department next morning; yet nothing of the kind ever happens. The natives seem to have no complaints against the white men, nor the white men against the natives. It is really very remarkable, for I should have suspected that some of the "boys" who wanted to get home would have endeavoured to make up a case of some kind, in order to have their

contracts cancelled. Mr. Chinnery, formerly of the Papuan service, was for a long time employed by the mine to superintend the labour force generally, with the express view of avoiding all ground of complaint ; he has made a sympathetic study of Papuan natives, and it is probable that the happy state of affairs at the mine has been largely due to his influence. If so, it is highly to Mr. Chinnery's credit that his efforts have been so successful, and to the credit also of the New Guinea Copper Mines that they should have had the foresight to appoint him to this position. Mr. Chinnery has since been made Government Anthropologist in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. It is gratifying to see that the Government of that Territory is following our example in establishing an Anthropological Department, and that a former member of the Papuan service has been selected for the chief position.

There is also a large plantation, one of the largest, I believe, in the southern hemisphere, which is the property of a Company, and which is also all that could possibly be desired so far as concerns the treatment of native labour. Giligili, for that is the name of the plantation to which I refer, has the advantage of a highly trained and experienced manager, and here again it is to the credit of the Company that they should have made so wise a choice.

On the whole, employer and employed get on very well together in Papua—better now, I think, than they ever did before ; they are becoming used to one another, and are making allowance for one another's shortcomings, and I will venture to say that there is as little ill treatment of natives in Papua to-day as there is in any country in the world where the white man and the coloured have to work together as master and man.

CHAPTER VIII.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT.

Double Responsibility—Duty to develop the Resources of the Country and Duty towards Natives—Distinction between British and German Principle of Colonization—British Precedent followed by the Commonwealth—Maintenance of Order and Administration of Justice—Murder of Europeans—Gold Mining in Papua—Copper—Petroleum—Timber—Report by Mr. Lane Poole—Agricultural Development—Continued Bad Luck—Rubber—Copra—Navigation Act—Varieties of Soil and Rainfall in Papua—Tea—Cotton—Rice—Retrospect of Papuan Agriculture—Possibilities of Mining—Prospects of Agriculture.

THE Commonwealth of Australia, when it assumed responsibility for Papua, was faced by the double problem which nowadays confronts the administrators of tropical countries under British rule—the problem which arises from the duty of developing the natural resources of the country, and the problem which arises from the duty to the native population.

In the old days the question was much simpler, for then no one ever dreamed that the Administration had any duty at all towards the native population. The theory of native rights seems to have first arisen in the eighteenth century,¹ and it has gradually developed, in British colonies, until one finds in writers of authority such statements as the following :—

“Remember that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what in diplomacy is called your nationals. You are there for the benefit of the people of the country.”²

¹ See Sir Hugh Clifford, *German Colonies*, and *post*, p. 211.

² Lord Curzon, quoted with approval by Sir Frank Swettenham in *British Malaya*, p. 304.

“In respect of Territories not self-governing, the sense of possession has given place to a sense of obligation.”¹

“The policy of the Continental Powers has adhered to a principle which we have long abandoned, that a tropical colony is a possession to be worked for the profit of the colonizing power—we adopted instead the policy of holding them in trust for their own benefit.”²

The German system was entirely different ; the Germans, according to Giordani,

“made the mistake of treating the colonies as if they were commercial houses, and consequently, in spite of their many admirable qualities, they failed in colonization—‘Colonization,’ that is, considered as a work of education and elevation of barbarous races.”³

To illustrate the practical difference between these policies, one may take the case of a rich and powerful syndicate, anxious to develop the resources of the Territory, and applying for land which the native owners will not sell, or which the Government thinks the natives require for their own use. That syndicate would not get the land in Papua ; in a German colony it would.

The Americans, who, like the Germans, came late into the field as colonists, elected to follow the British system ; and it goes without saying that the Commonwealth elected to do the same.

The first and most obvious duty of any Government is the protection of life and property, the maintenance of order, and the administration of justice. The Government has this duty towards all people of whatever colour, but it may, I think, be fairly argued that the duty of protecting the white man is of stronger obligation than the duty of protecting the native—firstly, because the former is accustomed to

¹ Lord Morley, quoted by Sir Hugh Clifford in *German Colonies*, pp. 14 and 15.

² Sir Charles Bruce, *Broad Stone of Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 30, 31.

³ Giordani, *The German Colonial Empire*, pp. 112, 114.

protection in ordinary life whereas the latter is not ; secondly, because the white man's work is usually of such a nature as to make it more difficult for him than it is for a native to be continually on the watch for an attack ; and thirdly, because if the white man is not protected he will protect himself, with results in the end far more disastrous to the native than if the duty of protecting the white man had been carried out effectively from the first. The European has an undeniable right to go and seek his fortune peacefully in any part of the Territory, and so long as he goes peacefully he is entitled to protection, and there should be no sympathy with anyone who seeks to prevent him. It is obviously impossible to detach a police force to follow every white man in his wanderings ; but the Government influence should be extended with reasonable rapidity, and the white man's life should be protected within the limits of that influence.

Now I do not think that it can be disputed that this has been done in Papua, and done perhaps more rapidly and with less bloodshed than in other parts of the world. Some ten years ago a question was raised whether murders of Europeans had not become more frequent under the Commonwealth Administration than they had been before, and a comparison was made of the number of white men killed by natives in Papua under the Imperial and the Australian Administrations respectively. I must admit that the comparison seemed to me then, and seems to me now, to be quite idle, for the numbers are so small that no inference can be drawn from them, and the details of most of the murders are imperfectly understood ; still, the comparison was made, and the result was to show that during the eight years of Commonwealth control there had been four murders, as compared with ten for the last eight

years under the Imperial Government. The numbers were as follows :—

Sir William MacGregor.	.	.	.	10 years	22	murders
Sir George le Hunte	.	.	.	5	„	7
Captain Barton	.	.	.	3	„	3
Australian Administration	.	.	.	8	„	4

Since that time there has been one white man killed—Mr. Kirby, a Government Officer, who, in April, 1916, was struck by an arrow while trying to arrest some natives on a charge of murder.

As I have already said, I consider the comparison futile, but so far as it has any value it is at any rate very much to the credit of the Australian Administration.

In fact, it is, I think, generally admitted that law and order have been well maintained in Papua. Even those who are unwilling to admit that any good thing can come out of Australia have reluctantly confessed that this is the case; and have sought to account for it by the ridiculous but ingenious supposition that Providence has put all the less tractable natives on the north and west of the imaginary lines which separate Papua from the Dutch and the former German Territories, while all those who are of milder mood have been placed within the boundaries of Papua.

In addition to this general duty, which is imposed upon all Governments under all conditions, there is also, in new countries like Papua, a special duty towards the white man; arising partly from our duty to see that the resources of the Territory are developed so far as may be, and partly from the fact that white settlement came on our invitation. We invited white men to come to Papua and to invest their money, and we must see that they are offered all reasonable facilities for carrying out the work that brought them here.

Mining was the original industry of Papua, and in particular alluvial gold mining. The total value of the gold won from the Territory may be taken at between £1,500,000 and £2,000,000, but no fortunes were made, and no rich mines were discovered. Of late years the return of gold exported unfortunately shows a regular decrease from year to year, from £50,000 in 1914-15 to £11,000 in 1920-21, with one glorious outbreak of £68,000 in 1921-22—the final flicker, before extinction, of a gold mine on the island of Misima which employed 50 Europeans and about 500 natives, and which was expected to prove the herald of a new era of gold-mining activity on a larger scale than had ever been known before. Now that this mine has gone the export of gold will again become quite negligible. But it is all on such a small scale that a momentary success or a temporary failure attracts an amount of attention that is quite out of proportion to its real importance.

On general grounds, speaking without any practical knowledge whatever, I think that the industry will almost certainly revive, but when or where it would be difficult to say. The failure of the Misima mine has naturally created a bad impression, but there are schemes on foot for the dredging of the northern rivers, and for a more intensive examination, by hydraulic sluicing, of some parts of the Yodda Valley; and these, if successful, may go far to retrieve the reputation of the Territory as a possible gold-field, and more scientific and more systematic prospecting might result in the discovery of payable reefs. It is difficult to believe that there is not plenty of gold still in the Territory, far more than ever came out of it.

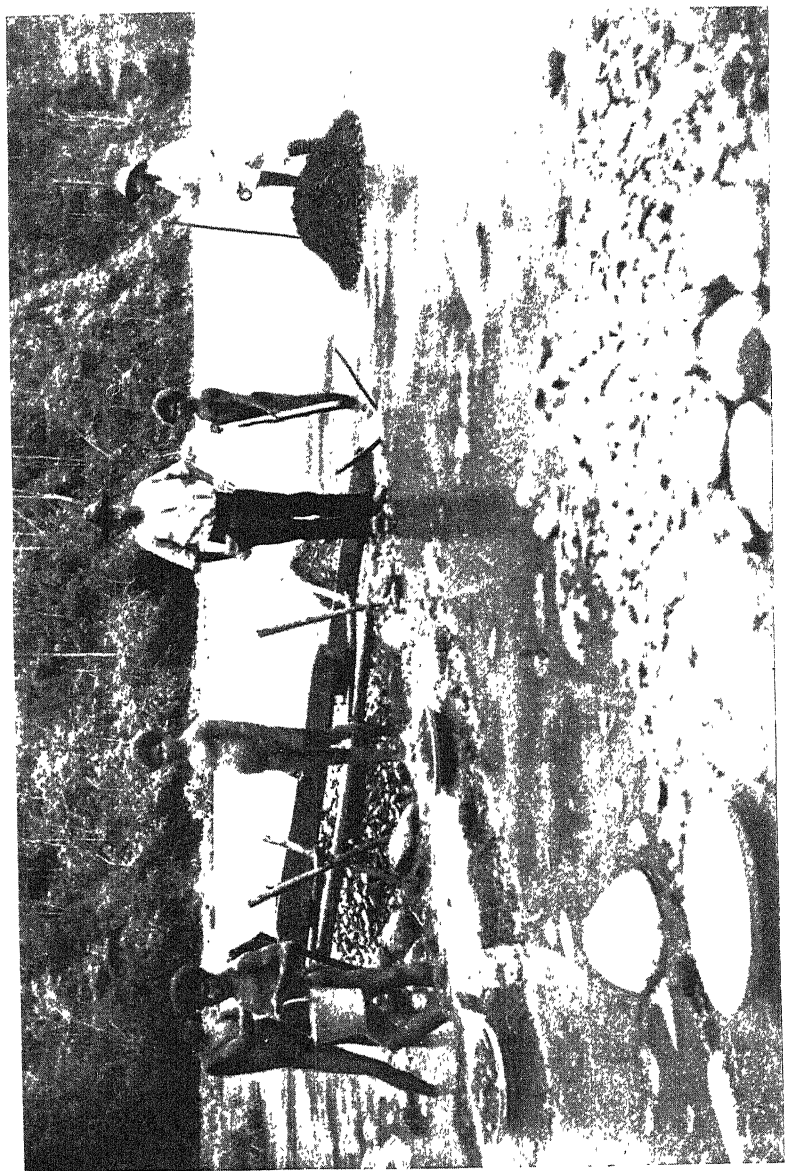
However, as gold has failed us, copper has become more promising, and the New Guinea Copper Mines, near Port

Moresby, give every indication of permanence and success. These mines employ 100 Europeans and 1,000 natives ; and it is probable that, if they prove to be a good investment, a number of smaller mines may be started in the district, each sending the ore to be treated at the big mine. In this way a really valuable industry may arise which will more than make up for the disappointment of Misima.

Petroleum, which was discovered in 1911 in the Gulf of Papua, was at first reserved as a Government monopoly, and prospecting has been continued by the Commonwealth ever since, principally in the neighbourhood of the Vailala and Lakekamu Rivers, but without any definite result. In January, 1924, private enterprise was admitted over the whole of the Territory, except an area of 1,000 square miles which was reserved by the Commonwealth Government. It seems probable that petroleum may be present in sufficient quantities to be commercially payable, but the difficulties of sinking have been much greater than was anticipated, and it is impossible at present to say whether these difficulties will be eventually overcome. The discovery of an oilfield would completely change the prospects of the Territory ; but, although one may hope, it would be quite unwise to rely upon such a discovery as a certainty.

The timber resources of the Territory have been examined by Mr. Lane Poole, the well-known forestry expert ; and he, as a result of his investigation, suggests that the future of forestry in Papua is wrapped up in the development of minor forest products. Among these he mentions tannins, principally in the mangrove forests, alcohol which may be obtained from the nipa palm, matches, veneers, and three ply, fibre plants of which there are an enormous number in the Papuan bush, resins, gutta-percha, rubber, ebony, dye plants, and possibly oils and medicinal plants.

ALLUVIAL MINING



“What possibility” (he concludes) “is there, then, for a commercial development of the forests of the Territory? To my mind the only way is to found the business, not on the timber, but on the minor forest products. Regard timber as a by-product of a well-organized industry depending on the minor products of the forest, and there seems a great promise of development in Papua.”¹

The brief history of Papuan agriculture has been disappointing, not by the fault of the managers or owners of plantations, nor from any defect in the soil of Papua, nor by reason of any peculiar perversity of the Papuan labourer, but really from sheer bad luck. I am perfectly well aware that to blame your luck is, as a rule, equivalent to an admission of incompetence, but this is not so in the case of the Papuan agriculturist. At one time it was the fashion to blame the Papuan Government for all the misfortunes that befell the investor in Papuan companies, and this was natural enough; it is the custom in Australia to do so, and we read, for instance, how Lawson's hero Sweeney, having spent his money in drink, blamed the New South Wales Government because he could not pay his fare to Sydney. The particular fault found with the Papuan Government was that it “pampered the natives”—the stock criticism of all Governments in tropical dependencies—but I think that of late years it has been realized that our policy was probably in the long run the best, even in the interest of the employers of labour, and that the tribulations of the Papuan planter have been due to bad luck, and bad luck alone.

For instance, rubber grows well in Papua, and, with considerable difficulty, delay and loss, some thousands of acres were planted with rubber stumps or sown with seed from Ceylon and the Federated Malay States, and all the

¹ See Annual Report, 1922-23, for an abstract of Mr. Lane Poole's report.

initial difficulties inseparable from a pioneer industry were overcome, but unfortunately it was all too late ; the Papuan rubber missed the boom, and came in only for the falling market and the ruinous prices of the post-war collapse. Then copra, " the consols of the East," was looked upon as a certainty ; but the war came before the Papuan plantations were in bearing, and Papuan copra has hardly had a decent market until this day.

In 1919, after inviting attention to the rapid increase of the planted area in the period immediately preceding the war, I said : " It is improbable that this very gratifying increase will continue ; the general dislocation of trade caused by the war, the lack of shipping, the industrial unrest, and the high price of commodities, will all combine to check it, though it may be hoped that the check will be but temporary." Unfortunately, however, while the prophecy proved true, the hope seems doomed to disappointment. For on top of everything else came the " crowning mercy " of the Navigation Act.

This is an Act which was passed by the Commonwealth Parliament for the protection and encouragement of Australian shipping ; it had, in one form or another, been in force for some time before the war, but it did not apply to Papua, nor, so far as I am aware, was there ever any intention that it should apply. But the war has doubtless had its effect upon the policy of the Commonwealth, as on that of other nations, and it has apparently become necessary, in the interests of Australia and perhaps of the Empire at large, that the provisions of the Act should extend to Papua also.

Accordingly they have been so extended, and the effect is that no ship can carry passengers or cargo between an Australian and a Papuan port, unless she complies with all

the Australian shipping conditions. No ships do comply with these conditions, except Australian ships manned with European or (generally) Australian seamen, and consequently only those ships can carry passengers or cargo between Papua and Australia. Papuan exports and imports are not large enough to maintain a regular trade with England or America, so that the net result of the extension of the Act to Papua is that Papuan trade is confined to Australian ports, and, in practice, to one Australian port, and even to one Australian firm. Before the war Dutch and German steamers called at Port Moresby and Samarai, in addition to the regular mail service to Australia, freights were low, plantations were rapidly extending, and all looked well ; but under present conditions our sole communication with the outside world is by the monthly steamer to Sydney.

Of course, as good Australians we submit, I trust without excessive grumbling, to any policy that may be dictated by the interests of the Commonwealth, and personally I think that we may fairly assume that we shall not have to carry this handicap very much longer. As the result of twenty years' experience in Papua I have implicit confidence in the liberality of the Commonwealth Government, and I find it difficult to think that the Australian democracy can regard the present shipping conditions with any degree of complacency. And though I am willing to believe that some overwhelming necessity, of the nature of which I have not been informed, may have made the extension of the Act imperative for a time, I am quite certain that when that time has passed we shall again be allowed perfect freedom of commerce.

That the Territory should be permanently kept in fetters would in my opinion be absolutely inconsistent with the trend of Australian thought, and with the former policy of

the Commonwealth, which has always treated Papua with the most lavish generosity. Papua prospered well in the years when communication was unhampered and the seas were free, that is in the years 1910-14 when Australian, German and Dutch were competing for our trade. These days will doubtless come again, and with them will come a return of prosperity. But it is a great pity that the break occurred, and a positive calamity that it has been necessary to extend the Navigation Act to us, even for a time.

For, though we may and doubtless will be relieved from the Act, still its effects will remain for a very long time. I remember when I was in the Solomons in 1916 I asked several planters, who were complaining of a shortage of labour, why they did not invest their money in Papua, where, I said, there was still plenty of good land, and, so far, a good supply of labour. "Yes," they said, "we know that. We know that you have land and labour; but we are afraid of the Commonwealth Government—you can never tell what they will do." I laughed and assured them that they had nothing to fear from the Commonwealth Government, that, on the contrary, it had always been most liberal towards us and most ready to assist in every way. "That may be," they said, "but you can never be certain of Australian Governments." And I suppose that these men now, and many others like them, point to the Navigation Act as evidence that they were right, and are more determined than ever not to have anything to do with a Commonwealth territory. So I think that it may be some time before new capital is attracted to Papuan agriculture, even after we have got rid of the Navigation Act.

Had it not been for these three misfortunes—the collapse of the rubber market, the war, and the Navigation Act—Papua would probably have realized the promise of her

former years and might now have a prosperous future before her. Other countries also have had to suffer from the rubber market and from the effects of the war, but the case of Papua was particularly hard. Planters elsewhere could put up with falling markets and an interrupted commerce because they had enjoyed high prices and good seasons for several years before ; but with the Papuan planter it was very different. He had experienced no good season and no high prices, for when the prices were high his plantation was not yet in bearing, and by the time it was in bearing misfortunes were falling thick and fast. So he has had to pass through the bad time with no reserve behind him ; and that he has passed through it successfully is high testimony to his courage and resolution.

Even the Navigation Act, the last and I fear the heaviest blow to Papuan agriculture, might have been borne if its application had only been postponed for a few years, for by that time the produce of the plantations might have been such as to support a direct trade between Papua and Europe ; but, as it is, I think that it has come just too soon, and that the resources of the Territory will be strained to their utmost to support this burden.

The principal cultures that have been attempted in Papua are coco-nuts, rubber, and sisal hemp ; sisal hemp, however, has practically been abandoned, principally I believe on account of difficulties of shipping. With the variations of rainfall, soil, and altitude that Papua offers it would be possible to grow any tropical product, but, with a limited labour supply, and a total absence of agricultural traditions, it was not thought prudent to encourage such plantations as would require abundant and highly skilled labour ; and planters very wisely decided to devote most of their attention to a culture which was practically a certainty, and for

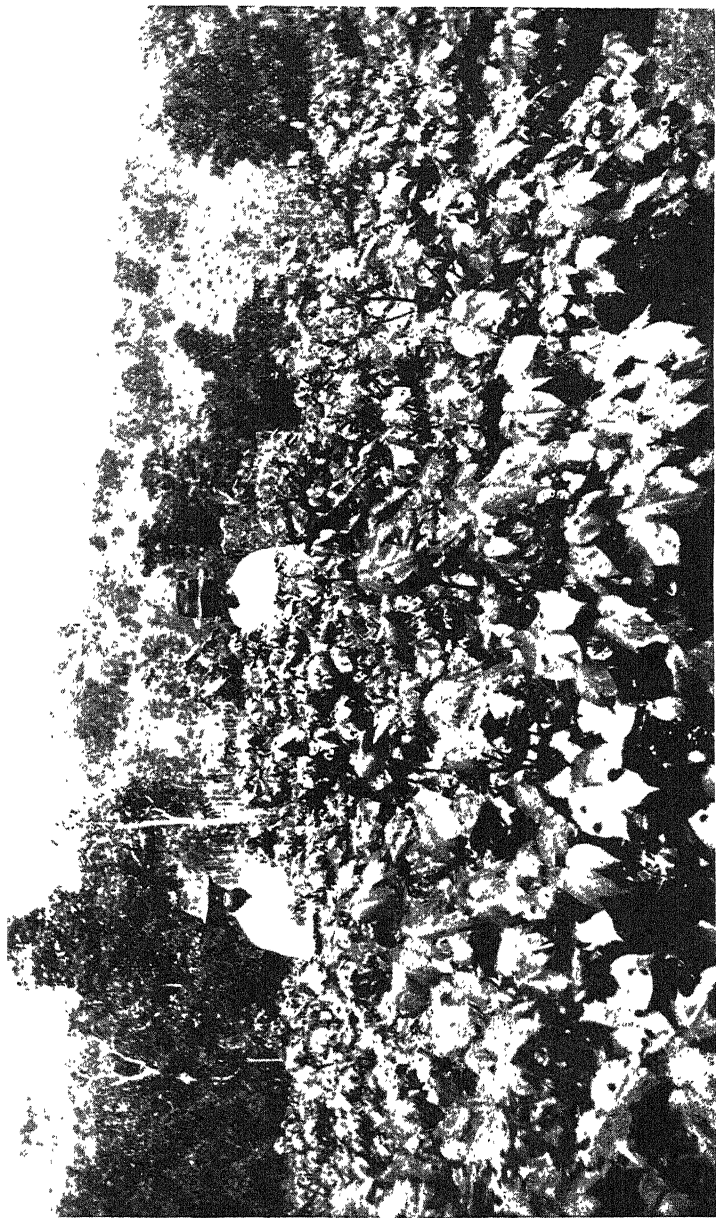
which no great amount of labour was required. Both these requisites they found in the coco-nut. Rubber was more or less of an experiment, which, however, has proved highly successful.

There are many very attractive forms of agriculture which one feels tempted to try in Papua, but it is probably wise to follow the principle outlined above, and to keep to those kinds which do not demand either a large number of labourers or highly technical knowledge or skill. Tea, for instance, would certainly grow well, but it is probable that there might be considerable difficulty about the labour required for picking. Cotton, which is being tried now in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby, presents the same difficulty as tea, but not to the same extent.

Rice, which is now being cultivated by natives, might pay on a large scale and under skilled and experienced management ; hill rice requires but little labour, for nearly all the work can be done by mechanical appliances. There would always be a local market, except so far as that market may in future be supplied by natives ; whether the crop could be sold at remunerative prices in Australia and the Pacific would depend upon freights and shipping.

A retrospect of Papuan agriculture, if I may quote my Annual Report of 1921-22, shows that it can be divided into four phases :—

- (i) An initial stage of experimental and tentative effort which lasted about three years—1907-10.
- (ii) A period of rapid development during which freights were comparatively low and communication unhampered. This phase began in 1910 and lasted till the outbreak of war in 1914. Over 30,000 acres were planted during this period. There was little export of copra.



THREE MONTHS OLD COTTON, PLANTED IN APRIL 1923 ON AUSTRAL PAPIUAN INVESTMENT CO'S PLANTATION AT TAVAI,
NEAR PORT MORESBY

- (iii) A period of comparative stagnation during the war—less than 16,000 acres planted in five years. During these years capital and enterprise were diverted elsewhere and development was almost at a standstill, not only in Papua, but in most of the Crown colonies. The export of copra was still negligible as the plantations had not yet come into bearing.
- (iv) The present post-war period, which I think will be a period of almost complete stagnation. The stagnation is due, partly, to the low price of copra and rubber, but these causes are perhaps only temporary ; at the root of the whole matter are the difficulties of shipping, and, as these difficulties are likely to be made permanent by the application of the Navigation Act to the Territory, I do not think that we should be justified in relying upon any further investment of capital. During this period the export of copra should increase from year to year as the plantations come into bearing. The export of native copra should also increase for the same reason ; but the supply of native copra varies very much with the price offered, and is affected also by other causes which are imperfectly understood.

Comparisons are proverbially odious and often misleading, but a reference to the progress of the then German New Guinea during phase (ii)—from 1910 to the war—may be of interest. German statistics for the few years before the war are available ; they show the increase of the planted area each year in the German territory as about equal to the increase in the same year in Papua—one set of figures makes it rather more, another set of figures makes

it rather less. But during phase (iii)—the war period—while there was little or nothing going on in Papua, development in the German territory was rapid, for there was no other outlet for the money realized by the sale of copra and it had to be spent in the Territory ; of course, the German plantations were older than ours and were already in full bearing.

Obviously the prospects of coco-nut planting, whether in Papua or elsewhere, depend upon the price of copra ; and a very small rise in price may mean a big increase in profits. Assuming that the total cost of production is £10, and that the price of copra is £20, the profit will be £10. Then if the price rises 25 per cent., from £20 to £25, the profits will increase from £10 to £15—a rise of 50 per cent. So if, as seems reasonable to expect, prices are eventually stabilized at about £20 a ton at Port Moresby, plantations which can do little more than keep afloat at £17 might then make a handsome profit. Further, as time goes on, there is a smaller non-productive area to be maintained, and, as the palms get older, cattle may be introduced ; a change which should reduce the labour force by more than half.

So, with anything like reasonable luck, I think that the existing coco-nut plantations are sure to pay, and, most of them, to pay well. Rubber is certainly a mystery, and I do not pretend to any secret knowledge of the subject ; still, I think that rubber will come again, and that prices will rise to a level at which this culture will be quite a payable proposition, but when this will be I do not venture to predict.

Thus the prospects of the existing plantations are not so bad as they have sometimes been painted, and it must be remembered that agriculture is not the sole source of

production in Papua. Papua was a mining country before it became agricultural, and it may be a mining country again ; and, while a coco-nut plantation cannot carry much of a handicap, a mine, if it is rich enough, may.

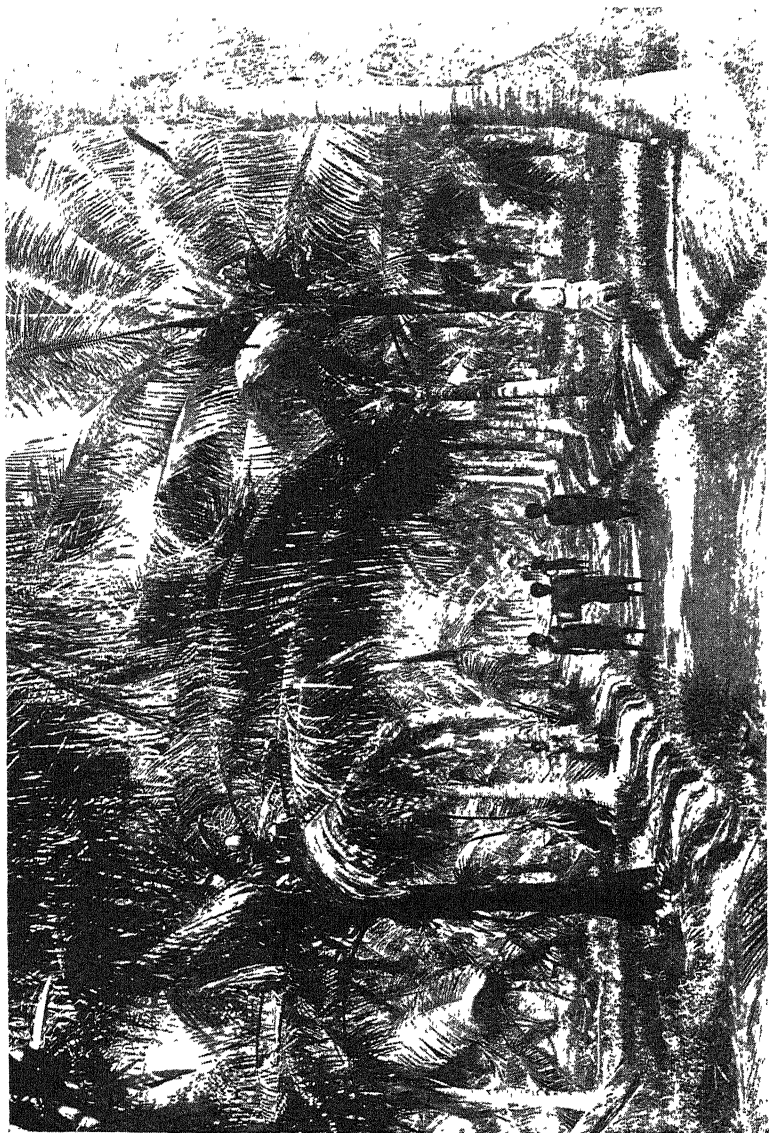
CHAPTER IX.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT (*continued*).

Absence of Intermediate Race in Papua—Road Policy—Roads in Papua do not attract Settlement—Public Works—Difficulty of deciding between necessary Objects of Expenditure—As a General Rule the Æsthetic must yield to the Practical—German Principle the Reverse—Roads and Railways—Medical Staff—Scientific Examination of the Territory—Highly Paid Service—Expenditure limited by Scanty Revenue—Progress Satisfactory for many Years—Strikes and Shipping Troubles—Effect of a Strike in Australia—Navigation Act—Bed-rock probably reached in 1921-22—Prospects now Better—Revenue will always be Small—Initial Need for Subsidy—Difficulties of Papuan Administration—Taxation light in Papua.

IN 1919 I wrote a pamphlet on the Australian Administration in Papua, from which much of the present chapter is taken, and in it I drew attention to what I considered an interesting point in which Papua differs from most other tropical territories. That is the absence of a race intermediate between the white man and the native—like, e.g., the Chinaman in the former German New Guinea—a race that can do work of which a native is not yet capable, but for which it is not possible to pay a white man's wage. Eventually this place will, it is hoped, be filled by Papuans who have been educated up to the necessary standard. The Papuan Immigration Restriction Ordinance, which is framed on the same lines as similar legislation in Australia, exempts labourers of special skill whom the owner or manager of a plantation may desire to bring into the Territory to act as overseers or foremen, but so far, I believe, advantage has not been taken of this exemption.

The absence of this "intermediate race" is important



GILI GILI PLANTATION, MILNE BAY

in connection with the question of roads and public works as well as plantations and other private enterprise, for it necessitates the employment of a white man, of course at a white man's wage, in a position of any but very minor responsibility. This means an increase of expense and is often the cause of delay, for, in a small community like that of Papua, with a population of only about a thousand Europeans, a suitable white man is not always easy to find. Thus the construction of roads, for instance, is a very expensive business in Papua (for native labour is not particularly cheap compared with Asiatic labour, nor is it, at any rate at first, particularly effective), and the maintenance, after the heavy downpours of the north-west monsoon, is, in the absence of suitable metalling, still more so.

The road policy in Papua has been influenced not only by considerations of the extra expense which is the result of the absence of this "intermediate race," but also by the rather distinctive nature of the country and of its inhabitants, who differ altogether from the natives of Asiatic countries, such as India and the Federated Malay States. In the latter country, according to Sir Frank Swettenham in *British Malaya*, as soon as a road was traced out opportunity was taken by Malays, Chinese and Indians to put up houses in the middle of a few acres of land along the track where the road would eventually pass; so that "a bridle road was no sooner completed than small houses, plantations, and fruit and vegetable gardens sprang up along its whole length." In Papua this is not so; there is no "intermediate race" to follow the example of the Malays and Chinese of Malaya, and it would not pay a white man. There are four main inland roads in Papua, varying in length from 100 to 35 miles and comprising a total of, say, 240 miles, most of which would be classed

as "bridle roads," though part is open to vehicular and motor traffic. Yet, with the exception of an accommodation house and a store on one of them, near the copper mine and about 17 miles from Port Moresby, there is no settlement on them, so far as I know, of any kind whatsoever.

Thus it would be a wrong policy in Papua to build roads vaguely, on the general principle that they will be followed by settlement. They will not, in fact, bring settlement with them, and no road should be constructed except with a definite purpose, either to provide access to a plantation or to a known mineral field, or to open up a district which contains good land that is certain to be developed; the expense of construction and maintenance is so great that, with a small revenue, it is not wise to take any risks.

As might naturally be expected, most of the plantations in Papua are on or quite close to the coast, and with regard to these the question of roads hardly arises; their highway is the sea, and even if a road were made, say from Port Moresby to Samarai, it is unlikely that it would be used for commercial purposes.

These, therefore, are the considerations that have guided the road policy in Papua:—(i) difficulty of construction; (ii) cost of maintenance; (iii) necessity of certain and definite objective; (iv) the fact that traffic by sea will be preferred to traffic by land.

Even if our revenue were larger than it is, it would be necessary to adhere to these principles; it is doubly necessary under existing circumstances, when we have barely enough to carry us along, and certainly nothing to play with.

Public works in general were practically suspended during the later years of the war, partly on account of the difficulty in obtaining material, but principally because it

was realized from the first that extreme caution was necessary in view of the possibility that the war might be indefinitely prolonged, and of the danger that, working as we necessarily do on a very narrow margin, we might find ourselves involved in serious financial difficulty. It was thought for these reasons imperative to maintain a surplus of revenue over expenditure as a precaution against eventualities, according to the policy laid down in the Annual Report for 1914-15.¹

This plan was carried out successfully, and, in addition to paying off a debt of £10,000 to the Commonwealth, we ended the year 1918-19 with a surplus of over £8,000.

With the end of the war it appeared that a more active policy might be pursued, and in the year 1919-20 an application was made to the Commonwealth for a small loan, which was granted on condition that the money should be advanced by instalments and that the first advance should be made in 1920-21.

By the aid of this loan various necessary works have been carried out, of which the most important are the completion of the wharves at Samarai and Port Moresby, and the extension of the road from Port Moresby into the tableland of the Sogeri District.

In administering a rather large territory with a very small revenue, the great difficulty is to choose from among the very pressing claims those which are really necessary. Thus we may say, for instance, that the sanitation of the small towns in which some 400 of our population habitually live is absolutely necessary; these towns must be kept healthy, and particularly they must, if the cost is not prohibitive, be kept free from malaria. This has been done; there is practically no malaria, no

¹ See that Report, pp. 5 and 8.

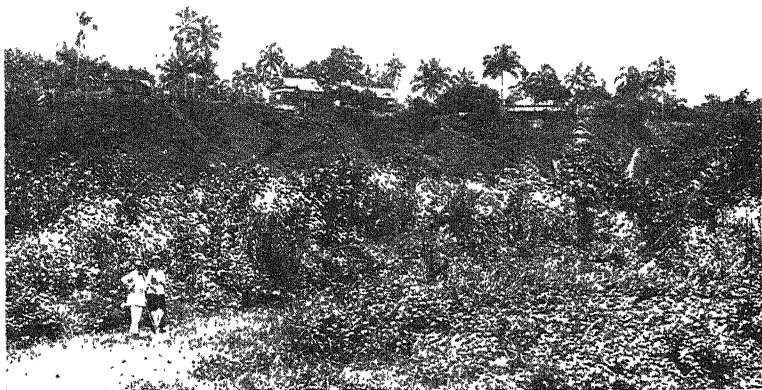
dysentery, no typhoid—in fact there is hardly any sickness at all—in either Port Moresby or Samarai, and we have so far been fortunate in keeping out of the Territory small-pox, cholera, plague, and the other diseases of Malaysia.

Little can be done in the way of adorning and beautifying these towns until the development of the Territory is assured, for in settling a new country the æsthetic must yield to the practical. This is one of the distinctions between British and German colonization. It has been the German practice to build fine towns first, with commodious offices and residences, and to extend into the hinterland afterwards ; the British practice has been just the reverse,¹ and we have naturally followed the British practice. Thus the Germans at Rabaul built a very handsome town, but they had, I believe, never even attempted the quite inconsiderable feat of crossing the island of New Britain ; we in Papua have only just begun to try to soften down the rather rugged environs of the town of Port Moresby, but we have had for very many years a regular mail service from one side of Papua to the other (nearly a fortnight's journey), crossing the main range at an altitude of 7,000 feet.

Samarai is naturally a gem, and to attempt to beautify it would be “wasteful and ridiculous excess” ; but it is not so with the capital, though the waters of Port Moresby and the surrounding hills are very beautiful. The improvement of Port Moresby is not being neglected, but it would I think be a mistake to make this a main feature of our policy to the exclusion of other more important matters, and to the neglect of other parts of the Territory.

For really there are many very important matters that must perforce be almost entirely neglected. Take for

¹ See Evans Lewin, *The Germans and Africa*, p. 281 ; Sir Hugh Clifford, *German Colonies*, p. 88.



KOKODA GOVERNMENT STATION WITH MAIN RANGE IN BACKGROUND,
NORTHERN DIVISION



KUNIMAIPA VALLEY, LOOKING SOUTH

instance the question of public works. "What you want," says the critic, "are roads—roads and railways. You want to make it easy to examine the country—to throw some light into it. The very first thing you should do is to make a railway across your Territory. Let people see what you have got. You can never develop the country otherwise." "What is the use of trying to develop your country," says a critic of our medical establishment, "if you have no labour to develop it with? An epidemic might easily carry off half your population. You have five or six doctors to a population of 300,000; is not that quite absurd? You should have many times that number, if you want to give your natives a fair chance."

"You cannot develop your Territory," says another, a geologist perhaps, or a botanist; "you do not know what is in it. Part of it has not even been explored. What you should do first of all is to get together a strong party of scientists and to finance them for several years while they make a thorough examination of the Territory. Then when you get their report you will know what to do."

"You must have a highly paid civil service," says another, "something on the lines of the civil service of India. Your officers should be well and comfortably housed, they should be able to live in comfort from the first, and they should have substantial prizes to look forward to at the end of their career. It is essential that you should have the best men, and this is the only way to get them."

The criticisms might be multiplied indefinitely, and they are all of them perfectly fair; the only answer is the conclusive one that there is no money available. It is not ignorance or indifference that prevents us from increasing our medical staff and improving our means of communication; it is merely a question of finance. We cannot have

all that we should like, and we spend our scanty funds on those objects which we think most essential to the well-being of the territory as a whole. And I suppose that there must always be differences of opinion as to what those objects are, and that these differences must be more acute in proportion as the revenue is small.

For the possibilities of expenditure are of course limited by revenue. The territorial revenue of Papua, that is the revenue raised locally, without counting the annual subsidy (formerly £30,000, now £50,000) granted annually by the Commonwealth, amounted in 1906-7 to £21,813; after ten years of Australian control it stood at £63,568. Exports in 1906-7 were £63,756, ten years later they were £156,535; imports for the same years were £87,776 and £271,640 respectively. Some deduction must be made from imports on account of the rise in prices, and corresponding deductions from the revenue so far as it is drawn from *ad valorem* duties, and also on account of an increase in the duty on tobacco and spirits; but allowing for all this, the advance is satisfactory—really remarkably so, considering that three of the ten years had been years of war.

The next year, 1917-18, was also a prosperous year, and shows a further increase of revenue (about £5,000—see Annual Report, p. 9), an increase of £12,000 in imports, and an increase of over £60,000 in exports. The exports had, in fact, nearly doubled in two years.

But then came strikes and shipping troubles and the figures sank again. The strikes were in Australia, not in Papua, and an Australian strike which affects shipping, as most strikes do, has a very serious effect upon Papua. We have no trade, no shipping communication, with any part of the world except through Sydney. Consequently, if there is a shipping strike, all intercourse between Papua

and the outside is immediately cut off, and we are thrown entirely on our own resources. Now almost the whole of the food of the European residents and of the indentured labourers is imported ; therefore, when the shipping stops, the supply of food stops also, and, while the European residents can generally manage to keep going, the indentured labourers are hit very hard. On the occasion of one strike, employers of labour, unable to buy food for their " boys," had informed us that they intended to send all their labourers into Port Moresby the following week and so cast upon the Government the duty of feeding them or sending them home ; but fortunately, before the appointed time arrived, a ship appeared laden with supplies and the disaster was averted. Probably the stores carry a greater reserve stock since this experience, but even so it is only a question of time ; a shipping strike in Australia is to us in the nature of a blockade—if it lasts long enough we must give in.

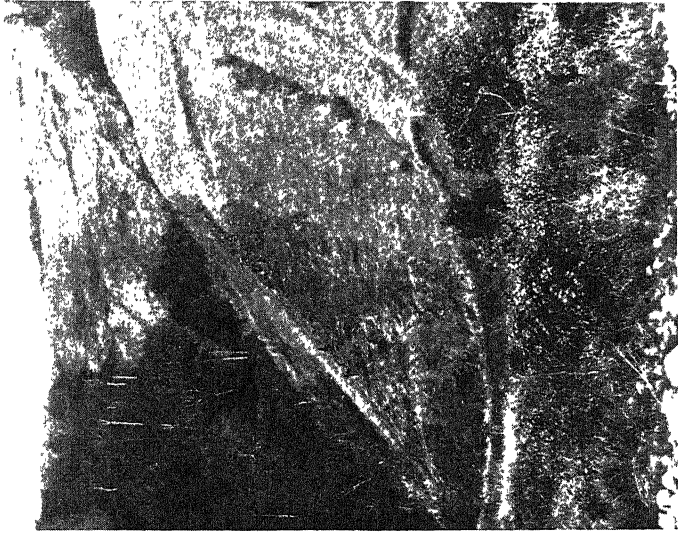
Such a strike has also a direct effect upon the Papuan revenue, which is derived chiefly from customs, and the year 1918-19 for this and other reasons was a bad one. But in the following year, with the partial removal of the cause of depression, the trade, both export and import, began to revive ; there were strikes in this year too, but, in spite of this, the local revenue showed an increase of 30 per cent. compared with the previous year, the imports an increase of over 60 per cent., and the exports an increase of over 50 per cent. It is, however, easy to exaggerate the importance of these figures, since they depend so much upon causes which are really accidental and cannot be foreseen; for a drought and another strike might easily have such an effect upon the trade and revenue of the Territory that it might appear that the whole place was

going to destruction. And yet it would mean nothing of the kind.

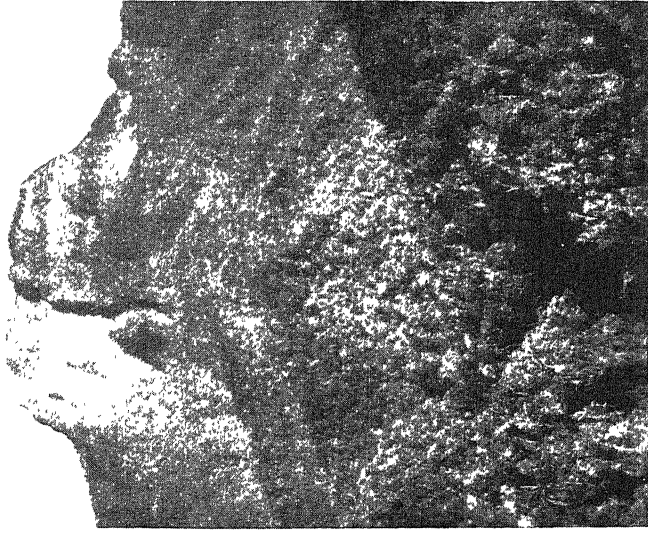
Thus fortune was on the whole favourable up to the year 1919-20, but then came the final catastrophe. For, though the Navigation Act was not actually extended to Papua until July 1, 1921, it cast its shadow before it; agricultural development came to a stop, and, as a result of a fall in prices, the export of copra actually decreased by over 1,000 tons. Our bad years had begun.

The following year, 1921-2, showed a further decrease in revenue, but an increase in exports due entirely to the gold won by the Misima Gold Mining Company, which has since abandoned operations; imports showed a decrease of nearly £180,000. It is probable that in this year we have struck the bed-rock of our fortunes. The decreases of the following year can be explained by the closing of the Misima Mine and certain reductions of duty which were made in the interests of planters and others, and I think that it is undeniable that business now generally seems to be better and prospects more cheerful; the price of copra has risen a little, and our efforts to secure lower freights have been to some extent successful.

And it would be quite a mistake to take too doleful a view of the future. Our mineral resources are probably very great, there is at least a possibility that we shall have a payable oilfield—though perhaps only a small one—in the Gulf of Papua, and, though our soil is undoubtedly patchy, still the best of our plantations are as good as the best elsewhere, there is plenty of good soil left for agriculture of all kinds, and last, but not least, our labour supply, though small, has always proved sufficient. The shipping restrictions of the present will not last for ever, we shall get rid of the Navigation Act some day, the price of our



CARRIERS DESCENDING TO THE KUNIMAIPA RIVER,
GOIEFU DISTRICT



MOUNT YULF

principal export will rise, rubber will come again, and then good times may return. Exports of copra, at any rate, must increase, even if another coco-nut palm is never planted, as the present palms grow older and come into full bearing.

But, though exports and imports may increase, it is doubtful whether (leaving out of account any royalty or other return which we may receive from the oilfield) the revenue will ever be a large one. It is derived principally from the customs duties ; the tariff is a low one, mostly 5 or 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, and there is a royalty on timber, and also a small export duty on copra.

Now it is characteristic of tropical dependencies that the earnings and profits of local industries are not distributed among the residents, but are paid away as profits or dividends to persons who live in Europe or elsewhere. The wages are, of course, paid, and to a large extent spent, in the country, but the profits usually go to shareholders outside. Thus we may hope that in a few years the mines and plantations now in existence in Papua will be paying handsome dividends ; but the dividends will be spent in Australia or in Europe, not in Papua, and will have no effect on the Papuan revenue. Some slight assistance to the revenue may be obtained from the Government plantations, which are just reaching the producing stage, and the small plantations which have been established round most of the Government stations are beginning to contribute a little, but the total can only be small ; while the expenses of administration have increased enormously, for salaries have been raised to meet the cost of living, and the rise in the price of materials has greatly increased the cost of public works. Hence the necessity for the continuance of the subsidy.

The initial need of the subsidy is to be explained by the

rather peculiar character of Papuan colonization. In the Annual Report of 1890-1 Sir William MacGregor (who had had previous experience in the Seychelles, Mauritius, and Fiji) speaks of the Territory of Papua as offering "administrative difficulties that are probably unique in the history of the Empire." "Never before," he adds, "has any systematic attempt been made to bring into the paths of civilization and industry a race covering so large an area and so far behind other aboriginal races in civilization and political organization."

Thus it is misleading to compare our task in Papua with that of the Administrations of other colonies, whether Dutch or British, that have been founded in the East. A comparison, e.g., between Java and Papua, would be vastly detrimental to Papua, but it would be manifestly unjust and absurd, for not only has Java been in contact with Europeans for many times as many years as Papua, but the Javanese had an established Government long before the Europeans arrived. The comparison should rather be between Java and Ceylon, and between Papua and Dutch New Guinea, and that comparison we need not fear, for in Dutch New Guinea there has been practically no settlement at all; nor, as I have shown elsewhere, need we fear a comparison with the former German New Guinea as it was administered by the Germans before the war.¹

It is to be noted also that both the other New Guineas have received similar assistance. Dutch New Guinea produced, I think until lately, no revenue at all; and German New Guinea always had a subsidy, amounting the year before the war to nearly three times that which was then granted to Papua.

¹ See my report on an article on "Three Power Rule in New Guinea," printed as a Commonwealth Parliamentary Paper, October 24, 1919.

If Papua had had a few more years' development on the lines of the years immediately before the war, when German steamers were calling at Samarai and a Dutch line at Port Moresby, we should have reached a stage when we could have done without the subsidy; and in fact at one time I had actually made suggestions for an arrangement with a view to its gradual extinction and final abolition, but I fear that this is out of the question now. Indeed, it has been recently found necessary to increase the amount from £30,000 to £50,000.

Since the war it has been possible to administer the Government of the Mandated Territory without a subsidy, and this I take to be an additional fact in support of my argument, for it is evidence in favour of my contention that cheap and adequate shipping facilities are essential to the progress of a new country. The late German New Guinea was served by three regular lines of cheap transport—to Europe, to Australia, and to Asia—so that settlers were able to choose their best market for sale and purchase; and, as a result of German industry, the country has become self-supporting. We had, for a few years, somewhat similar advantages, and during those few years our progress was at least equal to that of our neighbours, in spite of their larger subsidy; had these advantages continued for a few more years, Papua too might be self-supporting, as the result of Australian and British industry.

The residents of Papua are very lightly taxed, more lightly than residents of any of the Australian states. There is no income-tax in Papua and no land-tax; in fact, there is no taxation at all except through the customs. The import duties are very much lighter than the Australian tariff. At one time the Australian income-tax was extended to Papua, but residents urged that this was unjust inasmuch

as they had no representation in the Commonwealth Parliament ; whereupon not only was the tax removed, but, with rare generosity, the Commonwealth Government refunded the amount that had already been paid.

It has occasionally been argued that this is not so, and that the taxation in Papua is extraordinarily heavy. This is proved by the rather ingenious method of taking the total amount received for customs duties in any year, dividing that amount by the number of inhabitants, and declaring the quotient to be the average amount paid by each resident. Thus, for instance, in the year 1920-1 the total amount received as import duties was £50,340, and the population is given as 1,268, so that the average amount paid by each resident would be very nearly £40, and a family of a husband and wife and two children would pay close on £160—probably a third of the husband's earnings. The fallacy lies in the assumption that the duties are all paid by residents ; as a matter of fact, most of them are paid by companies few of whose shareholders have ever seen Papua.

It would no doubt be possible to carry on the administration of Papua without a subsidy, but the administration would be of a very rough and primitive kind ; and it would not be wise for the Commonwealth to withdraw the yearly grant unless absolutely compelled by the exigencies of finance. At the same time it is, I presume, intended that the Territory should, eventually, be self-supporting, and an indefinite continuation of the subsidy should not be contemplated. In fact, this is the danger of a subsidy—instead of being appreciated as an act of generosity, it may come to be regarded as a matter of course, as something which can be claimed as a right, and claimed indefinitely.

Progress in Papua has not been so rapid as it might, and

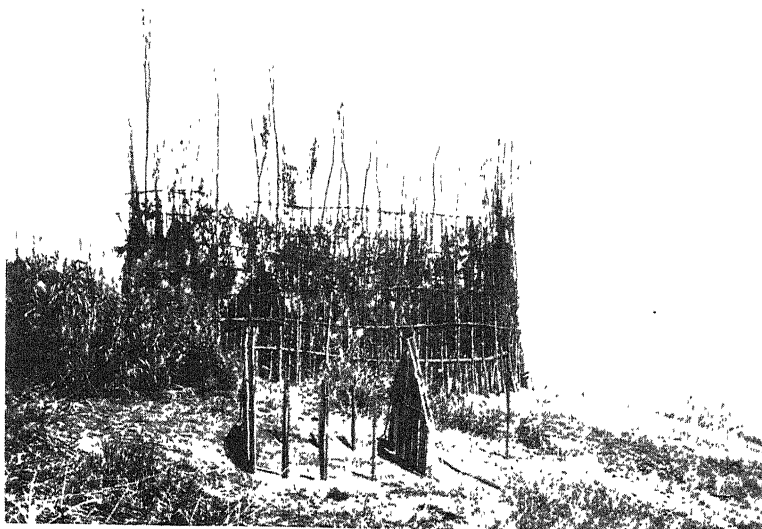
probably would, have been if the prices of our exports had been maintained, and external conditions generally had been more favourable ; but those who can remember the Papua of fifteen or twenty years ago must realize that there has been a great advance under Australian administration. I sometimes think that we all expect too much, and that we forget that we are still in the pioneer stage, and must put up with the incidental inconveniences, which, after all, are not very serious compared with the hardships which our parents or grandparents endured in the early days of the Australian bush.

CHAPTER X.

RECENT EXPLORATION.

Break in History of Exploration between the Departure of Sir William MacGregor and Assumption of Administration by Commonwealth in 1906—Exploration of the Eastern Portion—Government Stations connected by Different Routes—Advantages of Small Parties in Exploration—Danger of Attack—Difficulty in Living on the Country—Country impracticable for Animal Transport—Exploration of this Portion complete—Government Stations—Station at Nepa—Connection Nepa-Ioma—Explorations of Mr. Humphries—Practicable Route from the Gulf of Papua to Huon Gulf—Connection Nepa to Ioma via Morobe—Hostility of Natives—A Friend in Need—Reasons for Hostility—Captain Detzner in the Waria District—Mr. Chinnery and the Kunimaipa Valley—Lake Wawaru—Hostile Natives—Valley of the Jevi-Wataiz—Kunimaipa Valley revisited by Mr. Flint—Murder of a Constable—Expedition by Messrs. Karius and Chance and Arrest of the Murderers—Identification of Kunimaipa and Lakekamu Rivers by Mr. Humphries—Connection of Government Stations in the East of the Territory—Expeditions by Mr. W. J. Bowden and by Mr. Macdonnell—Mr. Jackson connects Kokoda and Ononge—Cuscus-hunting at 10,000 feet—Intense Cold—Expedition from Ioma to Gailala by Messrs. Grist, Storry and Wilson—Hostilities at Gailala—Arrival of Mr. Neyland from the South Coast—Mr. Neyland's Route—Exploration of Kukukuku Country in the Gulf Division—Natives faint on meeting Strangers—Expeditions by Mr. Skelly—Nabo Range and Albert Mountains examined.

THERE is a distinct break in the history of Papuan exploration after the departure of Sir William MacGregor in 1898, and the work was not seriously resumed until after the Commonwealth of Australia had taken over the administration in 1906. At that time by far the greater part of the Territory was absolutely unexplored, for the whole of the west had hardly been touched, except for flying visits along the coast and up some of the principal rivers, and the interior of what is now known as the Gulf, the Delta, and the Western Divisions, as well as that part of the



SECLUSION HOUSE FOR BOYS, MOUNT YULE DISTRICT



POLICE CAMP AT KARUAMA, NEAR MOUNT YULE

Central Division which lies to the north of Mount Yule, was almost *terra incognita*. Something remains even now to be done in the western part of the Territory, but not very much, and the exploration of those districts which lie to the east of a line drawn due north from Cape Possession has been practically completed.

This eastern portion was comparatively easy to deal with, for much of it was already well known from the exploration of Sir William MacGregor and other Government officers, and also from the investigations of miners who had travelled over a vast amount of country in search of gold. There were numerous Government stations on this side of Papua, for there was more settlement in the east than elsewhere, and the method generally followed was to send parties under a Government officer to connect one station with another, following different routes on different occasions so as to cover as much as possible of the country that was still unknown. The party was generally a small one, consisting usually of one white man and perhaps eight or ten police. There is, of course, always a risk in sending only one white man, and, had the scanty numbers of our service permitted, we should certainly always have sent at least two ; but as a matter of deliberate policy I think that (unless there is definite danger of serious attack) it is better to send a small party of police than a large one. Of course, a large party has the advantage of over-awing opposition and so preventing an attack which a small party might invite, but a large party requires a large transport, and transport is always a difficulty in Papua ; and furthermore, a large party is more difficult of control, and there are always stragglers who get out of hand and who are apt to steal from gardens and otherwise excite the hostility of the local natives.

Even with a small party it is difficult in Papua to live on the country. The Territory is very sparsely populated, you may travel for days without coming across a native village, and in the interior most of the villages are small ; again, natives do not as a rule grow more than is necessary for their own needs, and even in times of plenty would find it difficult to supply the wants of a large party, while on other occasions they might even be short themselves. There are valleys here and there of great fertility with a fairly large population, and of course in sago-growing districts food can always be obtained ; but if you stop to make sago your progress will be slow, so that, practically speaking, no party ever sets out without a string of carriers laden with rice, for the country is impracticable for animal transport. And when it is remembered that a carrier must himself be fed and will eat his load in a month, it will be understood that the smaller the party, consistent with safety, the more likely it is to reach its destination.

The eastern part of the Territory consists practically of a mass of mountains, rugged and difficult of access, and this, combined with the scarcity of food and the difficulty of finding the necessary carriers outside the settled districts, has made the work of exploration at times slow and difficult. Still the difficulties have been surmounted and the exploration of this part of the Territory is now practically complete ; and it is due to the Papuan service to state that almost the whole of the exploration, not only of this part but of the rest of Papua, has been carried out by Government officers in the discharge of their ordinary duties. There have been very few regular expeditions sent from outside the Territory to explore Papua ; almost all the work has been done by residents—miners, missionaries, recruiters, and, naturally, most of all by Government officers.

As has been said in a previous chapter, Papua is divided for administrative purposes into eight Divisions, each under a Resident Magistrate, and there are four of these Divisions in the eastern portion of the Territory—the Central Division, the Eastern, the Northern, and the North-Eastern, with headquarters respectively at Port Moresby, Samarai, Buna, and Tufi or Cape Nelson ; there are sub-stations also at Rigo and Kairuku in the Central Division, at Abau in the Eastern, at Baniara in the North-Eastern, and at Kokoda and Ioma in the Northern Division, and there was a station, since abandoned, at Nepa in the west of the Central Division, a few miles from the old German boundary. And it was principally by means of expeditions linking up these various stations that the exploration of this part of the Territory was completed.

The station of Nepa had been established in connection with the Lakekamu goldfield, which was discovered in 1909, and on the exhaustion of the field the station was dismantled. It was of no general administrative value, for the country round about was practically uninhabited, but it served in its time as a useful centre for exploration, especially of the mountainous country to the north of Mount Yule ; its chief drawback, from the purely Papuan point of view, was its proximity to the German boundary, for much of the work done from Nepa was really done on the wrong side of the border-line, and so was lost to Papuan exploration.

The system of connecting with other stations was carried out from Nepa, and a track was cut, through practically uninhabited country, to the Mekeo district and the coast opposite to the Government station of Kairuku on Yule Island. This was in the year 1915, and was the work of Patrol Officer Chisholm, who, to the great loss of the Papuan

service, was afterwards killed in the Great War ; the track was in itself of no great importance, but it proved useful as facilitating the investigation of the southern and western sides of Mount Yule.

The longest and most important expedition from Nepa was that which Mr. Humphries, the Assistant Resident Magistrate at that station, conducted in 1917, to connect with the station of Ioma in the Northern Division. He was completely successful in establishing the connection, but the nature of the country drove him north, so that much of his route passed through the former territory of German New Guinea. Before this, Mr. Humphries had succeeded in connecting with Kerema on the Papuan Gulf ; his first efforts in this direction had failed in the almost inextricable maze of swamps which stretch to the west of the Tauri River, but a second attempt was successful, and a route was established from Nepa to the sea, which was afterwards traversed in inverse direction by Mr. Massey-Baker, the Magistrate who was stationed at Kerema. This initial connection with Kerema was of particular importance in consequence of the subsequent and longer expedition, for the effect of the two combined was to establish a practicable route from the Gulf of Papua to the Huon Gulf. Mr. Humphries, true to the principle of small parties which I have already indicated as governing most of Papuan exploration, took with him but eight police and nineteen carriers. The carriers were prisoners and, I believe, most of them natives of the Aird River Delta—men who lived in surroundings of mud and slush, and who, in ordinary life, hardly knew what solid ground was ; they were the last men in the world whom one would choose for carriers in mountainous country, yet they adapted themselves readily to their new environment, and performed

their arduous duties cheerfully and well. They suffered terribly, however, from the cold, and two of them deserted about a week or ten days out from the station ; one of them, by an extraordinary piece of good luck, succeeded in getting back to Nepa, but the heart of the other failed him when night came on, and he turned back again and sought to rejoin the party. The party that day crossed the divide into the old German territory and were camped a little distance down the northern slope ; many of them were ill from the effect of the cold.

“ I was attending to the sick men until 11 p.m.” (says Mr. Humphries in his report), “ serving out medicines, superintending the cooking and serving of the soups and bovril, of which I still had ample supplies. All hands, considerably comforted, were sleeping round fires by eleven o’clock. Soon after midnight, unable to sleep on account of the cold, I got up and was adding fuel to one of the fires, when I heard a dismal howl to the left of the camp. It was repeated again and again, and I realized that it was the runaway carrier. My men at first thought otherwise, but I sent them out with lanterns, and after a short absence they returned, half leading, half dragging the man Maripa with them. He was in a bad state, half dead with cold and hunger. He ran away, he said, because he was Kava Kava (mad), but he became afraid and turned back to us when night was coming on. I gave the man cocoa and hot milk and his sobbing soon ceased. On my last stroll round the fires I saw that he was asleep.”

Mr. Humphries and his party left Nepa on July 29, his general direction being south-east for the first four days, then east for five days, and then, on the tenth day, he came to “ the first signs of native life met with since leaving Nepa, two well-defined roads, one from the north and one from the north-east, junctioning and running south.” Mr. Humphries took the bigger and better of the two—that coming in from the north—and followed it for five days, crossing the divide into the late German territory on

August 10, the thirteenth day out ; but on August 12, recognizing that the road would eventually take him to Makua, a well-known village in German New Guinea only a few days away from Nepa, he decided to leave it, and to cut a track through the bush in a north-easterly direction. His decision was entirely justified, and the next day he came upon a native track running east and west—west towards Makua (which at one point was actually in sight) and home ; east towards Morobe and the sea.

Much to the amazement of the police and carriers, Mr. Humphries, instead of making for home, deliberately turned his back on Makua, and set out towards the unknown regions of the east. Next day he proceeded along what he describes as a “splendid road,” and arrived at the village of Kunjo, situated on the right-hand bank of a tributary of the Oreba which flows in a southerly direction, past the eastern slopes of Mount Lawson, and eventually, after joining the Lakekamu, into the Papuan Gulf. Kunjo is in German New Guinea, and is one day distant from Makua, or five days from Nepa.

Kunjo seems to be the centre of a populous and fertile district ; the natives gave the party yams, taro, cucumbers, beans, sugar-cane, and tobacco, receiving in exchange tomahawks, knives, and salt, their desire for all of which was, Mr. Humphries says, “distressingly keen.” “They showed no signs of hostility towards my party,” he says, “but on every side I could see grouped men sitting watching us.”

For some distance farther on the natives were friendly, though rather nervous and full of curiosity, and on occasions voluntarily assisted the carriers with their loads ; and later, as they became more used to the strange dress and accoutrements of the party, and the appearance of their leader—

for a white man looks incredibly ghastly to those who are used to the richer colouring of brown or black—they would even relieve the police of their packs and carry Mr. Humphries over the streams that cross the track. At the same time the hillsides re-echoed to what were apparently songs of welcome, and so everything went very well, and “it was roses, roses, all the way,” until the party reached the village of Mowi, the last village of the Lakekamu waters, from which a broad clean track runs, at an easy grade, through scrub-covered mountains to the waters of the Waria.

It is an axiom among those who have to deal with primitive peoples that your danger lies, not so much from natives who have never been visited before, as from those who have been visited perhaps once or twice by persons of whose conduct you cannot be sure. Of course, the native who has never been visited naturally looks upon all strangers with suspicion, and one must always allow for this sentiment in dealing with him, but at least he has received no direct provocation from the white man; whereas, in the case of the native who has been visited before, those who come afterwards cannot know what cruelty or injustice he may have to avenge. The truth of this axiom was now to receive a rather striking illustration. Up to and including the village of Mowi the country traversed had all been new country, unvisited either by the Germans or by their Australian successors, and right up to Mowi the party had, after the first timidity had worn off, received a royal welcome on all sides. They were now, on leaving Mowi, to enter the Waria district—country that had been visited before, by Germans, and their troubles were now to begin.

At Mowi they were entertained by a man called Madul. Madul was understood to explain by signs (for there was no

common language) that if the party went on to the Waria they would certainly be killed, and, says Mr. Humphries, "he tried hard to tell me things that seemed to be of an important nature," evidently trying to persuade him that the danger on the Waria was a real one ; but all in vain, since no one could understand a word he said, and in any case the party had no alternative but to proceed.

So the next morning they moved on again, this time in a south-easterly direction. "On the height above Mowi," says Mr. Humphries, "I could see the watersheds of the rivers Mou Waria and Markham. Madul pointed out the Mou mountains and the Waria mountains. It was a wonderfully clear morning, and I could see for miles on all sides. How fortunate these people are, I thought, to have such a lovely country to live in."

That night they reached the waters of the Waria, and the next day their troubles began, for they were now in country that had been visited before.

A party of natives appeared on the road, and warned them to return ; then, as no notice was taken of their warning, they disappeared, but more and more parties appeared until the whole country was alive with armed men, who, as the day wore on, began to close in upon the white man and his small party of police and carriers. At last, at the very moment when an attack seemed inevitable, the party was rescued by the sudden appearance of a *deus ex machina* in the shape of a strange native, conspicuous among the armed and hostile savages by his peaceful garb of a singlet and knickerbockers. This apparition accosted Mr. Humphries in English ; he knew the Papuan Government well, he said, and he was kind enough to express approval of it. It was, he said, a good government. His name, he continued, was Auda, and he came from the



VIEW IN THE MAIN RANGE IABIADUBU HILL, CENTRAL DIVISION

village of Sipoma, near Death Adder Bay, and was staying with a friend of his, Kewawi, a chief of the village of Dunai-a. He had heard of the approach of a white man, and had run to meet him, in order to protect him against the hostility of the inhabitants. Auda did not speak the language of the district, but the mere fact of his fraternizing with the party was sufficient to allay suspicion, and put an end to all danger of an attack.

From this point Mr. Humphries deviated slightly from the direct route, and instead of pressing on to Wakai-a (which is only half a day from the village of Boli, in Papua), he decided to visit Dunai-a, and see Auda's friend Kewawi.

He arrived at Dunai-a early on the 18th. Kewawi was quite friendly. He expressed his regret that the people had behaved so badly, and promised that if another white man should come there would be no trouble. Mr. Humphries asked why it was that the natives had shown themselves so hostile, and Kewawi rather dramatically produced a handful of Mauser clips and shells and said "that is the reason"—a German patrol had visited the district some time before, and the cartridge-shells were sufficient indication of the nature of their intercourse with the natives.

Four days afterwards, on August 22, the party crossed the border again into Papua, and reached the village Owasupu, in the Mambare Division, seven days from Ioma. The journey was now practically at an end, and on August 27, Mr. Humphries arrived at Morobe, in the Mandated Territory, thirty days from leaving Nepa, a period which, had he known the road, might have been reduced to less than twenty days.

During the latter part of his journey through the old German territory, Mr. Humphries heard rumours of

a white man who was supposed to be hiding somewhere in the bush, but he paid no heed to them and pushed on to the coast. But the rumours were in fact true, and the white man was a Captain Detzner, one of a German survey party who, early in 1914, left the coast in order to trace the boundary between the British and German territories, and who did not return to the German station of Morobe on the Huon Gulf until after the outbreak of war. Then, when the Australian forces came to Morobe, Detzner, in company with Klink, who was in charge of the station, took to the bush. Klink afterwards came in and surrendered, but Detzner held out to the bitter end. I was told afterwards in German New Guinea that Detzner, after his surrender, said that he had heard of Mr. Humphries' expedition, and that he had attempted to overtake it in order to give himself up, but that Mr. Humphries travelled too fast and that he could not catch him.

Earlier in the same year Mr. Chinnery, Assistant Resident Magistrate, starting from Mekeo, examined the country north of Mount Yule, passing up the valley of the Kuni-maipa River across the old German boundary to a lake which is one of the sources of the Waria River. His route was parallel to that taken by Mr. Humphries in the early part of his journey ; in his subsequent route from Kunjo to the coast Mr. Humphries seems to have passed a little to the north of Mr. Chinnery's most northerly point.

Mr. Chinnery's route took him across the Kunimaipa River and up the east side of the valley across the southern spurs of a mountain which he called Mount Strong, after Dr. Strong, who was the first European to visit this district. It was a rough, tedious journey at a height varying from 8,000 to 10,000 feet, and it was rendered far more difficult by the continuous opposition of the natives.

On March 25, Mr. Chinnery entered the valley, and on April 7 he crossed the range which divides Papua from the former German territory. On the top of the range, at a height of 10,800 feet, a small lake was discovered, called Wawaru ; and from this lake a tiny stream trickled northwards, through tree-ferns, buttercups, daisies, and heather, to be known later on as the river Waria. This little stream is called Kau ; it flows at the bottom of a valley which runs along the summits of Mounts Chapman and Strong—the great mountain systems which farther south are separated by the valley of the Kunimaipa. “The whole valley,” says Mr. Chinnery, “running as it does for such a distance along what is practically the top of huge mountains, is one of the most beautiful sights I have seen in New Guinea, and I do not think that the police and carriers will ever grow tired of talking in their villages of the first view they got of the long serpent-like stream.” Mr. Chinnery prospected the waters in one or two places and found one specimen of gold in a small piece of stone ; but the water was too cold to allow of a thorough examination.

Returning, Mr. Chinnery passed down the western side of the river, across the spurs of Mount Chapman, and reached the mouth of the valley on April 13. The natives had proved consistently hostile almost throughout, and so had added to the natural difficulties of the expedition, but through tact and good management Mr. Chinnery reduced the actual collisions to a minimum. He was thus able to return without losing a man, though one of his police, badly wounded through stepping on a hidden spear set in the route which the party must follow, had to be carried back down the valley.

Three empty Mauser cartridge-shells were found in the valley ; they had come from the Waria, and doubtless were

a relic of the party whose reputation so nearly reacted upon Mr. Humphries a few months later.

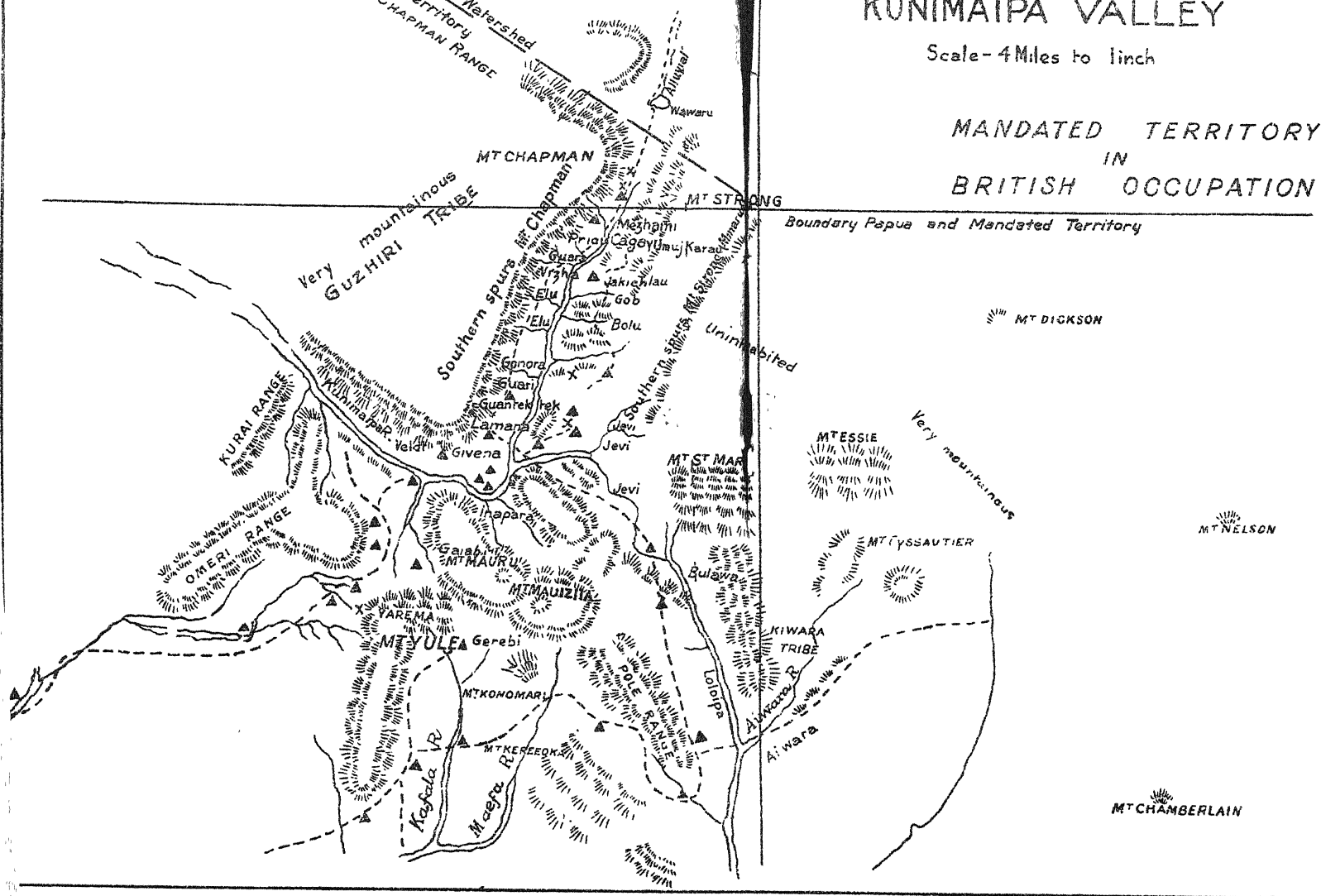
North of the valley, in the German territory, a little beyond Lake Wawaru, places were pointed out where Captain Detzner had camped during his long sojourn in the wilds ; and it was probably from somewhere in this neighbourhood that he afterwards sallied forth in search of Mr. Humphries as the latter passed through on his expedition from Nepa to Ioma.

Emerging from the valley of the Kunimaipa, Mr. Chinnery set out to examine the valley of the Jevi-Wataiz, a river that joins the Kunimaipa at the entrance of the valley. Proceeding up this valley, Mr. Chinnery unfortunately met with a severe accident, by falling through a natural bridge of moss and roots on to a slab of rock several feet below. Though suffering severely, he continued his journey for several days and completed the examination of the Jevi-Wataiz and Kajari country, but eventually, after passing the Pole Range, was compelled by his injuries to turn southwards and to return through the Lopiko country to the coast.

The Kunimaipa valley was again visited in 1922. Mr. Flint, Assistant Resident Magistrate, left Karuama on June 1, and proceeded via Kuefa and Amenofu up the valley to Mizhani at its northernmost end, and returned to Lamana at the entrance to the valley on June 18. From Lamana, following the track of Mr. Chinnery, he proceeded to examine the Jevi-Wataiz River, which runs into the Kunimaipa from the eastward. On his return, while rounding the Pole Range and passing from the waters of the St. Joseph to those of the Biarua, he had the misfortune to lose one of his police through the treachery of some local natives, who had volunteered to act as carriers, and who took

Mandated Territory

MANDATED TERRITORY
IN
BRITISH OCCUPATION



advantage of their position in the line of march to attack those of the party who were immediately before them. A false step and a fall saved Mr. Flint's life, but the policeman in front of him had his head almost severed from his body by a blow from a tomahawk, and two other members of the party were wounded. The assailants unfortunately escaped. The murder of the policeman necessitated a third expedition for the purpose of effecting the arrest of those who had been guilty of the crime, and the valley was visited again by a Government party under Messrs. Karius and Chance, in May, 1923. This patrol lasted for about six months and was entirely successful, all the murderers being arrested and brought down to the coast for trial. The whole district was thoroughly examined on this occasion and peaceful relations established with the native inhabitants.

In the meantime, Mr. Humphries, in January and February of 1918, had examined the lower course of the Kunimaipa, after it passes the Kuefa villages near Mount Yule. Starting from the junction of the Tiveri and the Lakekamu, Mr. Humphries ascended the latter river in a canoe for five days, passing on the way the Oreba tributary which rises in the Kwolum valley, east of Mount Lawson, in the former German territory. It was found that the Lakekamu ran west of north from the direction of Mount Yule and with a current which increased so much in strength that the party could at last make no further headway, and the canoe had to be turned round (a task of great difficulty) and eventually piloted into the smoother waters of a tributary which joined the Lakekamu from the south. This tributary Mr. Humphries called the Monckton, after an officer of the Papuan Service who crossed from the Waria to Motu Motu in 1907, and whose party, less cautious or

less fortunate than that of Mr. Humphries, met with a fatal mischance in descending the rapids of the Kunimaipa, which Mr. Humphries avoided.

Mr. Humphries followed the Monckton for three or four days, and then crossed over again to the Kunimaipa. Continuing to ascend this latter river, he found another tributary called the Uni, flowing in from the north at the foot of a mountain some 10,000 or 11,000 feet high, called Turu, and eventually on February 16 (twenty days from Nepa) reached the Amenofu and Kuefa villages.

The identity of the Kunimaipa with the Lakekamu was now established and its somewhat eccentric course was made clear ; it rises on the eastern slopes of Mount Chapman, runs a little west of south until near Mount Yule, and then turns to the north-west and receives the waters of the Tiveri below the Nepa landing, and finally runs almost due south to the Papuan Gulf.

Mr. Humphries returned by the Biaru to Maipa and thence overland to Nepa, by practically the same track as that cut by Patrol Officer Chisholm in 1915.

In the meantime the work of linking up the stations in the eastern half of the Territory had almost been completed, and by 1914 the stations of Abau on the south coast, Baniara and Cape Nelson in the North-Eastern Division, and Kokoda at the foot of the Owen Stanley Range, had been connected by a series of cross-patrols—an arduous work which, it is feared, hastened the death of one promising young officer, Mr. W. J. Bowden, Assistant Resident Magistrate ; and in the Annual Report for 1913-14 I was able to say “there are now but few districts in the eastern part of the Territory which have not been visited, and fewer still where the Government has not at least been heard of.” The officers principally concerned

in this work were Mr. Bowden, who crossed from Kokoda to Cape Nelson, over 250 miles of rugged mountains, in the midst of the wet season when the difficulties of inland travel become almost insuperable ; Mr. Macdonnell, who later in the same year connected the same two stations, travelling in inverse direction, and who a year or two later crossed the Territory from Cape Nelson to Port Moresby and returned by a different route ; Mr. Blyth, who crossed from Baniara to Abau and back again ; Mr. Keelan and Mr. Jackson, who, from Ioma and Kokoda, crossed the main range and connected with the station of the Roman Catholic Mission at Mafulu, and so with the south coast. These are the names which most readily occur to one, but there are many others who did equally good work.

Mr. Macdonnell, with a small party of nine police, left the coast of Dyke Acland Bay on October 8, 1915, proceeded in a westerly direction between the Hydrographers Range and the Bariji River, crossed the Main Range somewhere about the junction of the North-Eastern Division and Northern Division, and descended through Iavarere on the Astrolabe Range to Port Moresby, where he arrived on October 29. Little new country was traversed on this journey, but the expedition was valuable as bringing the previous patrols into touch with one another, and establishing a connection between them. Returning, the party left the south coast at Cape Rodney, passed through the Keveri valley, crossed the Main Range a little to the south of Mount Suckling, and struck the other coast at Collingwood Bay in the Maisin district ; the return journey across the Territory took about a fortnight—from November 14 to 27.

Mr. Jackson's route lay partly through new country, and partly through country that had been rarely visited and

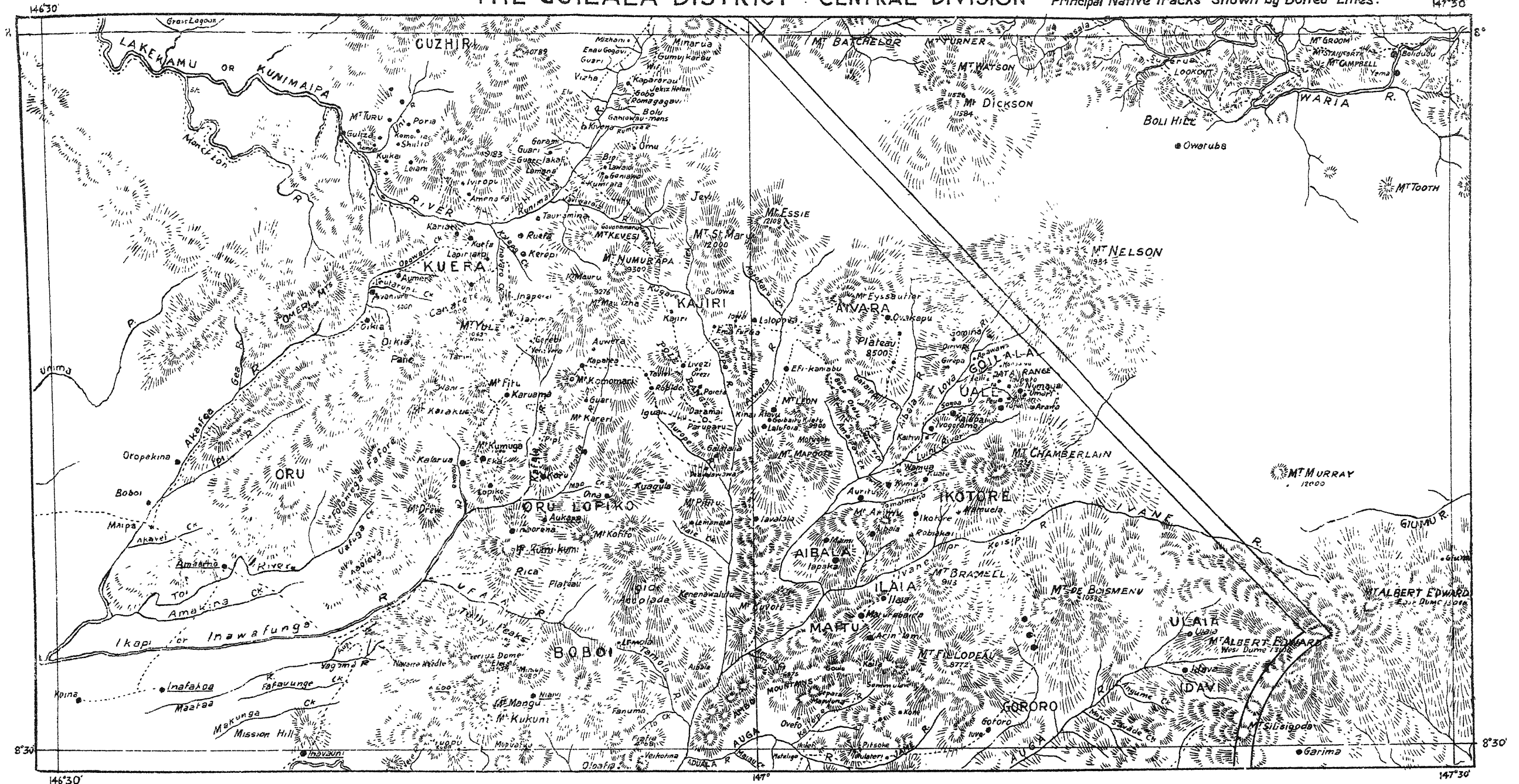
had never been completely mapped out. He crossed the range in 1914 a little above Mount Scratchley by a track which, starting from the villages of the Vovoi tribe, led over the range to the Kailapa country and to the Vetapu River opposite Ononge. The Vovoi villages are on the north side of the Aziba, and the Aziba is an affluent of the Chirima, which in its turn flows into the Mambare. On his return journey Mr. Jackson proceeded northwards from Ononge to the Waitapu country and crossed the range again under Mount Albert Edward near the headwaters of the Chirima, continuing in a direction parallel to that river across the Aziba, and so rejoining the route he had followed on his outward journey. He was away from Kokoda from July 22 to August 29, 1914.

Mr. Jackson established the continuity of the Fuyuge language from the Mambule villages (Mafulu) on the Aduala, a tributary of the St. Joseph, across the range to the Chirima valley and Mount Scratchley; and, as this language has also been traced as far down the Vanapa as Korona, it must be reckoned with Binandeli and Koiari as among the most widely spread languages of Papua. These three, Fuyuge, Binandeli, and Koiari, are all Papuan languages; the three meet at Mount Scratchley and cover between them most of the non-Melanesian-speaking tribes of Eastern Papua.

Mr. Jackson speaks of seeing the upper Chirima people carrying on extensive burning-off operations at a height of just under 10,000 feet. It appears that they were hunting cuscus, and it is probable that hunting parties occasionally visit even higher altitudes, but so far as I am aware, no regular villages have been seen at a greater height than 8,000 or even 7,000 feet. At such heights the cold is sometimes very trying even to warmly clad Europeans.

THE GOILALA DISTRICT - CENTRAL DIVISION

Principal Native Tracks Shown by Dotted Lines.



“The patrol was rather a severe one for carriers,” says Mr. Jackson in his official report.

“I camped three nights on the roof of the Range going over, at altitudes varying between 9,000 and 10,000 feet, and two nights at the same general altitude in recrossing, the third night being 7,100 feet on the spur of the Range above the Tauada villages (Chirima River). On the Range the whole party suffered for want of proper sleep—what sleep I enjoyed was only after burning low fires under the middle and foot of my bunk, notwithstanding that I wore three pairs of woollen socks, two pairs underpants and a pair of trousers, two heavy undershirts and flannel shirt, with rug and blanket over me and two rugs underneath. It was not therefore altogether surprising that two carriers collapsed on the third morning, and had to be relieved of their swags for a couple of days. The severest part of the trip, however, as far as results were concerned, was the visiting of the various tribes up and down the Vetapu valley, where the arduous climbing (all villages perched on ridges between 6,000 and 7,000 feet) in the open grass slopes, unprotected from the chilling winds, soon had both police and carriers in more or less severe chest trouble, in spite of ample medical supplies to meet such a contingency.”

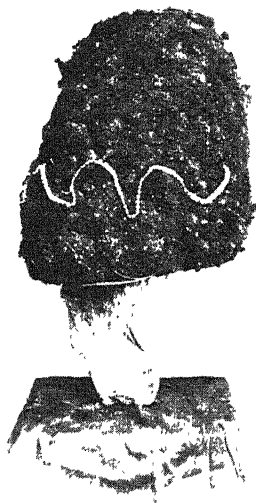
Towards the end of the year 1917 raiders from Goilala in the Central Division crossed the main range into the Northern Division and came into contact with a detachment of police from the Government station at Ioma; they sustained a few casualties and subsequently retreated across the range to their own district, in the mountains near the old German boundary, and almost due north of Port Moresby. An expedition followed from Ioma under Messrs. Grist, Wilson, and Storry, and penetrated into the previously unvisited district from which the raiders had originally come. While Mr. Grist was camped at Goilala he was joined by Mr. Neyland, who had been dispatched with a small number of police from the south coast; and the investigations of these two parties practically completed

the examination of the very mountainous country to the east and north of Mount Yule.

The Goilala country is situated, roughly speaking, in the triangle formed by Mount Nelson on the north and east, Mount Eyssautier on the west, and Mount Chamberlain on the south, at the head-waters of the Aibala, which eventually runs into the St. Joseph ; and Mr. Grist's route apparently took him over the summit of Mount Uduru and through the grass plateaux which had been previously seen by Mr. Keelan on his passage from Ioma to Mafulu in 1913.

Mount Uduru is placed by Mr. Grist to the north-westward of and almost immediately opposite to the eastern dome of Mount Albert Edward, on the opposite side of a huge valley ; through this valley a river, which Mr. Grist identifies with the Giumu, flows in a general north-easterly direction to join its waters farther on with those of the Waria River. Uduru had previously been described as rather higher than Mount Albert Edward, but Mr. Grist reports Albert Edward as the higher of the two. After a distressingly cold night near the summit, Mr. Grist struck camp at 7.30 and reached the plateaux at 9.30. There are two of these plateaux, and they proved very disappointing, for, instead of the broad expanse of rich plain country that had been anticipated, Mr. Grist describes the first as a " flat wide valley " about 2,000 acres in area, and the second as a " similar valley " of rather less extent—five miles long by half a mile wide.

Mr. Grist arrived in the Goilala country on March 6, 1918, fourteen days out from Ioma, and remained there until June 22. The natives were consistently hostile, the police casualties were fairly numerous, and the Giumu carriers from the Mambare side of the range, fearful for



TONGUNA, NATIVE HEAD-DRESS, SAMBERIGI
VALLEY

the safety of their own homes, which the Goilala threatened to destroy, deserted one night *en masse* ; the local natives, in spite of their loudly expressed wish that the party would go away and never come back, refused to supply carriers to assist their departure, and the position had become decidedly delicate when the timely arrival of Mr. Neyland fortunately saved the situation. The natives had not shown themselves so bitterly hostile to Mr. Neyland's party, and with his assistance carriers were found and Mr. Grist and Mr. Wilson were enabled to return to Ioma.

Mr. Neyland had come from the Government station on Yule Island. He had made two attempts to reach Goilala. On the first occasion he had proceeded through Rarai Lapeka and Aukapa's village to Karuama, and thence west to Tavivi on the western slopes of the Pole Range, near the place where Mr. Flint was attacked four years later ; at Tavivi his carriers deserted, and he returned to Kairuku, where he arrived on May 25, six days out from Tavivi. On his second attempt he went by Dilava and proceeded almost due north from there to the west of Mount Mapoote and thence across the Loloipa tributary of the Alabule (St. Joseph River) to the south of the Pole Range back to Tavivi. He arrived there on June 7 and left again on June 8, back eastward across the Loloifa, north of Mapoote, over the summit of Kiletu to the south-east of Mount Leon, and thence north-east across the Aibala, to appear, at last, a strange but welcome apparition, to the hard-pressed Grist and Wilson. This was on June 16, nine days out from Tavivi, twenty-three from Kairuku. The return journey was made through Pitzoko and Mondo.

In the neighbouring Gulf Division the exploration of the country between Kerema and the Vailala—the home of the so-called Kukukuku—was completed in 1916 and the

following years. The Kukukuku live in the mountainous hinterland of the Gulf of Papua from the Lakekamu to the Vailala, and the name Kukukuku is a nickname derisively applied to them by the Motu traders, who sail along the coast in their lakatoi on their trading expeditions to the rivers of the Gulf. There is, in fact, so far as I am aware, no particular connection between the various tribes of Kukukuku, who call themselves by different names, and who have no common language ; but they resemble one another in their general mode of life (in which they differ little, if at all, from other mountain tribes), and in the way in which they have succeeded in striking terror into the coastal people, who class them all together as the type of everything barbarous and inhuman.

There seemed to be an almost superstitious fear mingled with it all. It is said that when confronted with a Kukukuku a coastal native would lose all strength and power of resistance, and would allow the Kukukuku to lead him away and kill him where he would. The men of the eastern side of the Gulf are usually physically superior to those of the mountains, but the arms and marksmanship of the latter are said to be better. The Kukukuku bow is shorter than the bow of the coast, and permits, I am told, of more accurate shooting, and this may have something to do with the fear that the salt-water men have of the mountaineers. I knew but one man on the coast who was not afraid of them. He was a Motu Motu man called Vavasua, and he accompanied me to the Kukukuku country in 1910. The Kukukukus had killed his father when he was a boy, but when he grew up he went into their country and paid back with the life of the first man he saw ; and he was quite ready to go back and, if necessary, to increase the payment.

The establishment of the Government station at Kerema

had stopped the raids of these people on to the coast, but until 1916 little had been done to explore their mountain home in the neighbourhood of the Albert and the Nabo Range.

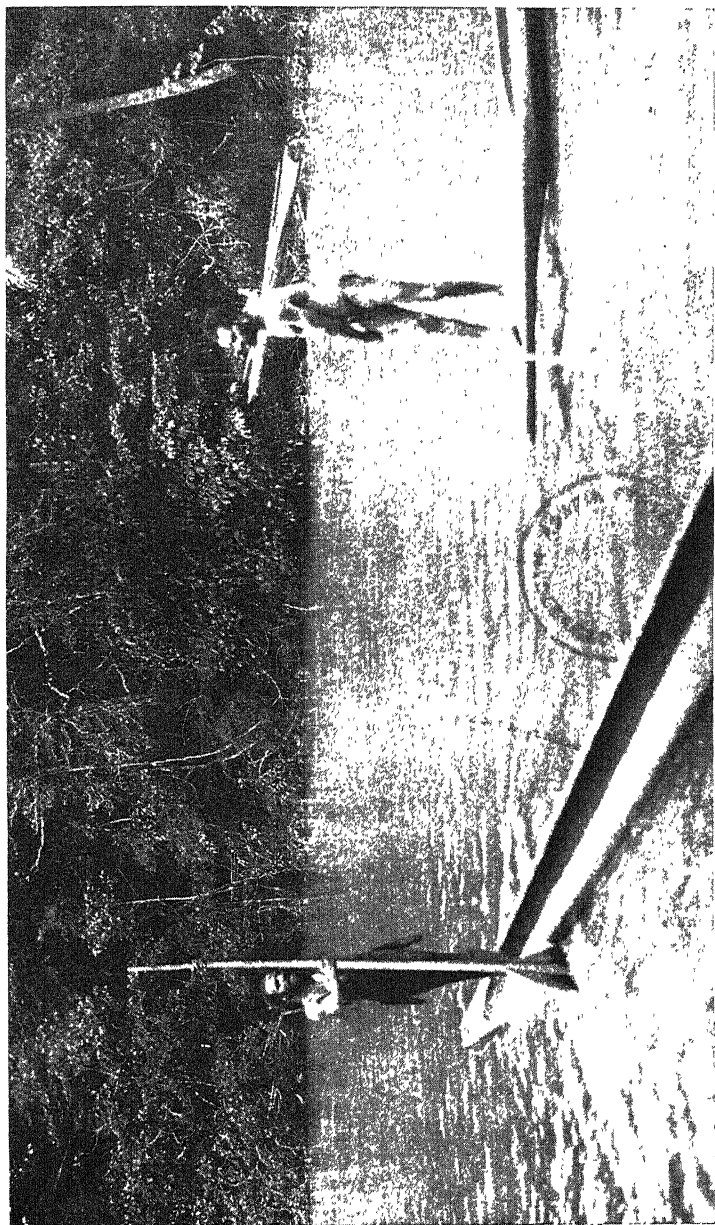
In the years 1916 and 1917 Mr. Skelly, Assistant Resident Magistrate, and other officers working from Kerema, succeeded in dispelling the cloud of doubt and uncertainty which had hitherto hung over this portion of the Territory. Some parts had been visited by a prospecting party a few years before, but nothing in the nature of a map had been published to show even approximately where the prospectors had been, and, as is usually the case, Mr. Skelly found that the fact that another party had preceded him was not altogether an unmixed advantage. Mr. Skelly ascended the Vailala to Upoia, the site of the Commonwealth oil-boring operations, and then, proceeding farther up the river, reached its junction with the Dohiti (which flows in from the east) on the afternoon of the third day. The route now lay eastwards up the Dohiti towards a place known as the Kukukuku landing, beyond which the stream was not navigable even for canoes ; the ascent of the Dohiti was a toilsome one, through snags and rapids at almost every bend, but at length, after a struggle of about four days' duration against a rising stream and in pouring rain, the landing was reached and the camp pitched on the northern bank. Next day the party arrived at the first Kukukuku village and met with a most cordial reception, though Mr. Skelly was at first rather concerned at the facility with which these natives became unconscious on apparently the slightest provocation. "When I approached the village," he says in his report, "the people stood and gazed at me, and in less than two minutes there were people fainting and collapsing all around me. Four men

and three women collapsed at my feet in a heap. I called out to bring some water, but Chief Arivi explained to me that it was all right and no one appeared to be alarmed." The same thing happened at another village farther on. "Chief Kavilahu came to meet me," says Mr. Skelly in his report, "but as soon as I caught hold of his arm he collapsed at my feet in the bed of the creek. The whole crowd assembled round me and in a few seconds five men were stretched out in the bed of the creek." Mr. Skelly describes the dress of the men of these tribes as being almost the same as that of the women—a small sporran-like garment made of reeds in front of the body, and a long cloak behind, which they slip over their bodies as a protection against rain and use for sleeping in. They seemed to be almost wholly unacquainted with tobacco, which, however, was apparently just being introduced.

Mr. Skelly's route now lay along the Nabo Range and down the Matupi River to Kerema, where he arrived on April 3, eight days from the Kukukuku landing. He was fortunate in finding the natives friendly and was able to make a rapid passage.

The Nabo Range was again visited later in the same year (1916) by Mr. Hill, a patrol officer stationed at Kerema; he confirms Mr. Skelly as to the strange fainting habit which prevailed among these natives.

Again, in 1917, Mr. Skelly, accompanied by Mr. Miles, a patrol officer, went north from Kerema until they struck the Hawoiu River, which flows in a north-westerly direction to join the Dohiti, the river Mr. Skelly had ascended the previous year. Following the valley of this river, at the foot of the Nabo Range, the party made a fairly thorough examination of the valley and the range, and returned to Kerema on December 31, after an absence of about seven



LAKE MURRAY NATIVES

weeks. Mr. Skelly found the natives peaceably inclined, as before, but not very anxious for the further acquaintance of the Government ; they seemed to be badly off for food, but had plenty of betel-nut.

Neither the Albert Mountains nor the valley between the Nabo Range and the Alberts had as yet been visited. That was reserved for Mr. Skelly's third expedition, which he made in company with Mr. Swanson, an old resident of Papua, in 1917. The Ivori River, which is one of the main sources of the Vailala, was selected as the route for the patrol, and was probably the most convenient that could have been selected, though the progress of the canoes against the fast-flowing current was tedious in the extreme. Eventually the canoes were taken into the middle of the mountains, into valleys which Mr. Skelly describes as being "formed by mountains of 8,000 feet to the north and 4,000 feet to the south."

The tribes visited are scattered over the range, and are said to "live at a height of 8,000 feet." This is an exceptional height for settled villages, though altitudes of about 6,000 are not unusual. The language spoken is said to be very similar to that of the Dohiti Kukukuku. "The people," says Mr. Skelly, "are a fine type in every respect, and impressed me as being genuinely anxious to get in touch with civilization. They are exceptionally nervous and suspicious. . . . Most of them thought we were merely on a trading jaunt, and the last people visited were greatly surprised to see us reappear at their homes after they had carried out and disposed of their trade." It was, of course, impossible to get them to understand what the object of the expedition really was, but in time, with plenty of patience, it will be easy to convince them that the intentions of the Government are, at least, not hostile. The

country traversed was thoroughly prospected, but no signs of gold were discovered.

Further investigations of this district have been made more recently by Mr. Bastard and Mr. Lambden of Kerema, and the Nabo Mountains and the country between that range and the coast are now fairly well known. The native population is very small, and, though they display no particular desire for the blessings of civilization as proposed to them by the Papuan Government, they practically have, according to Mr. Lambden, "lost all their nervousness, and instead of fainting or running away, are inclined to be rather effusive in their welcome and in their demonstrations of affectionate regard for the strangers."

CHAPTER XI.

RECENT EXPLORATION (*continued*).

Explorations between the Kikori and Purari Rivers—Messrs. W. J. Little, Carne, and Massey Baker—"Hathor Canyon"—Messrs. Woodward and Barnes on the Upper Kikori—Mount Murray and the Samberigi Valley visited by Messrs. Flint and Saunders in 1922—Natives generally friendly—Description of Strickland—Mr. Ryan in 1913—Attack by Natives on the Wa We River—Mr. Ryan badly wounded—Description of the country traversed—Mr. Justice Herbert and Mr. H. L. Murray in 1911—Messrs. Flint and Storry in 1917—Fly and Strickland Rivers—Discovery of Herbert River and Lake Murray—Exploration of the Alice River District—Messrs. Austen and Logan—Overland to the old German Border—Examination of country west of Daru between the Fly and the Dutch Boundary.

IN the Delta Division, which comprises the country lying between the Purari and Turama Rivers, Mr. W. J. Little, an old resident of Papua, and Mr. Mackay, had, in 1908, conducted an expedition west from the Purari almost as far as Mount Murray. In the course of this expedition coal had been discovered, and the discovery was confirmed by a subsequent expedition led by Mr. Little in 1911, from the Kikori eastwards to the Purari. In 1912, as a result of these investigations, Mr. Little and Mr. Carne, the New South Wales Government geologist, and Mr. Massey Baker, R.M., left the Kikori and travelled in an easterly direction to the Purari, cutting Mr. Little's previous route. The party left the Kikori station on March 20, proceeded a short way up the Curnick, an affluent of the Kikori, and finally, after being delayed by various accidents, started on their march five days later. There is some rough country between the two rivers, and the most for-

midable obstacle was a wall of mountain, apparently the eastern shoulder of Mount Favenc, rising in a seemingly perpendicular mass of some 2,000 feet. Fortunately Mr. Little found a practicable track and the barrier was successfully surmounted. The highest point reached was 5,440 feet above sea-level.

On April 15 the party reached the Piau branch of the Upper Purari, exactly at one of Mr. Little's old camps. "From this point on the bank," says Mr. Baker in his report, "the frowning entrance to the Hathor Canyon or Gorge, with its 2,000 feet high walls, between which the whole of the waters of the Purari thunder, was visible in the distance."¹ Their route had, for the first fourteen days, lain south-east and east along the bank of the Curnick, then across a river flowing into Era Bay, which they called the Carne River, and then north for ten days by the east side of Mount Favenc to the Purari. The return journey was made practically by the same route. Coal was found on the Curnick, at a creek running into the Purari, and also near the Carne River; it was reported to be "of tertiary age and of lignitic character, with a large percentage of contained moisture, approximating 18 to 20 per cent." "So far as is at present known," the report continued, "the inaccessible nature of the intervening country, to say nothing of the character, thinness, and disturbed condition of the coal, renders it of no present or prospective value to the Territory."

Mr. Staniforth Smith had in 1910 visited the Upper Kikori in his attempt to cross from that river to the Strickland, and a further examination of this district was carried out by Mr. Woodward, Assistant Resident Magistrate, assisted by a patrol officer, Mr. Barnes, in 1918. Leaving

¹ I have not been able to find any other mention of this canyon.

the Government station early in the year, these officers established a base camp on the Kikori at the point where Mr. Smith had left the river, and from this centre conducted patrols east towards the Sirebi River, north in the direction of Mount Murray, and west and south to the Omati. Mr. Woodward, in his report, summarizes the results of his investigations as follows :

“The district covered by the various patrols that have been conducted from the base camp does not possess any very striking features. From an agricultural point of view, this district possesses few potentialities ; the numerous limestone ranges, and the proximity of limestone to the surface in the more level areas, preclude the possibility of extensive settlement in the future. In the valleys of the Kikori and the Sirebi Rivers good land has been found, which in my opinion would be suitable for the cultivation of rubber. Unfortunately, such land does not seem to extend to any great distance from the rivers.

“That the population of this district is scanty is a matter beyond all doubt. As regards the country to the west of the Kikori River, evidence as to the existence of a scattered population was found in the vicinity of the Omati head-waters. To the north of this district, and close to the Turama River, the villages of the Gimini-Kairi tribe are to be found. The area bounded by these two centres of population on the west, and the Kikori River on the east, is uninhabited, and consists mainly of rugged limestone ranges. Only one village was found in the district lying between the Sirebi Valley and the base camp, and nothing was observed to indicate the existence of any other tribe in this part.

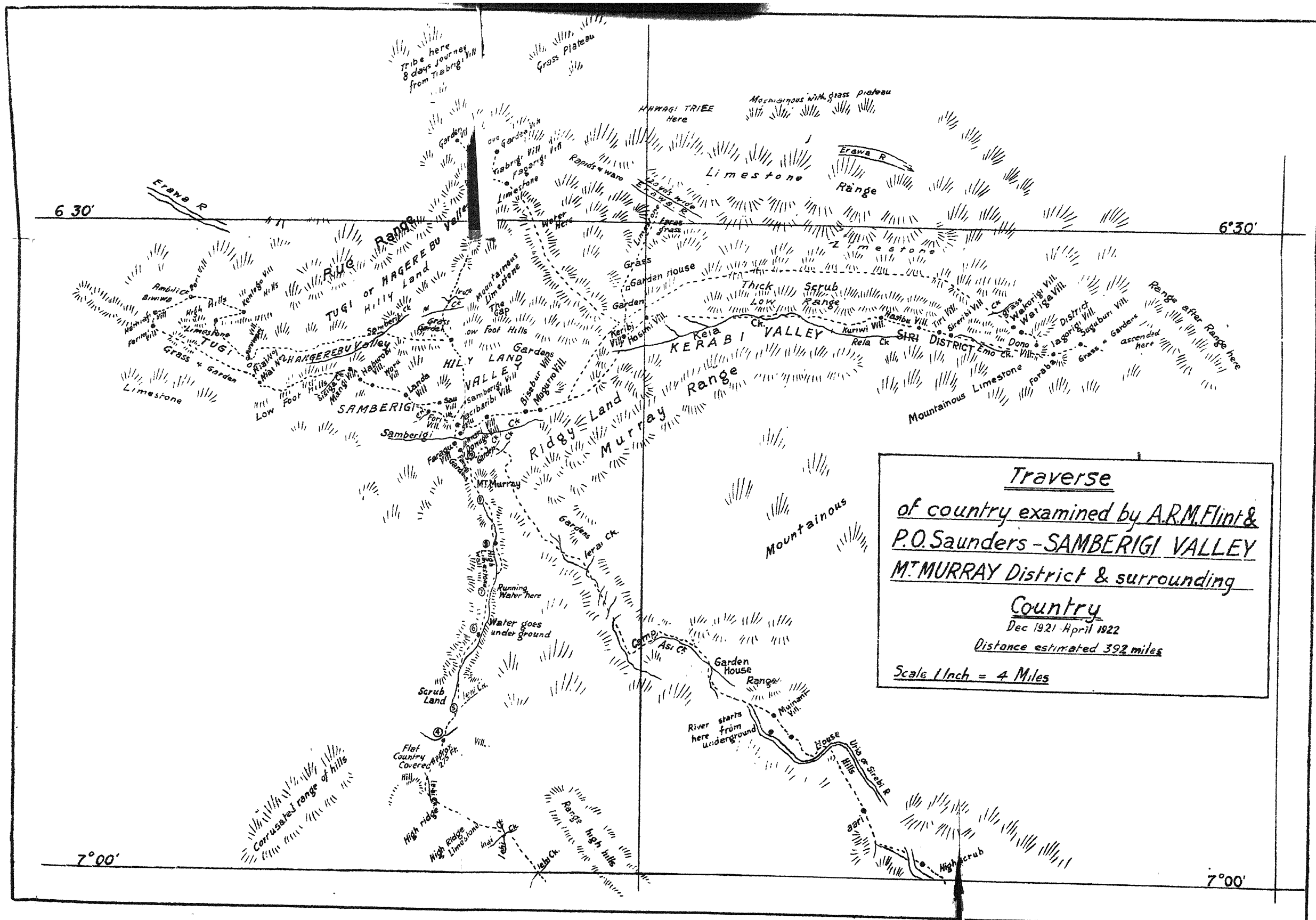
“The country to the north of the base camp appears to be unpopulated until the lower slopes of Mount Murray are reached. Here, according to Mr. Beaver, there is a fairly extensive population. Unfortunately, owing to shortage of carriers at my disposal, I was not able to venture thus far. In obtaining the carriers for this work, I underestimated the difficulties of transport over such excessively rough country, as a result of which I found I could not penetrate to a greater distance than could be covered in five days' walk from the base camp.

“Native pads were always made use of in preference to cutting tracks, and I estimate that, of the 440-odd miles that have been

covered on patrol, less than one-fifth of this distance was travelled by native pads. This fact, I consider, indicates the scarcity of population."

A further examination of this district and of the country beyond Mount Murray was made by Messrs. Flint and Saunders in 1922. They, too, started from Mr. Smith's camp and proceeded inland in much the same general direction as that which Mr. Smith had taken, but, as far as Mount Murray, keeping to the westward of his route ; thus Mr. Flint went roughly north-west for four days' march and then due north to Mount Murray, whereas Mr. Smith's route lay first to the north for 18 miles and then north-west to the south-eastern spur of the mountain. Mr. Flint's main objective was the country known as the Samberigi Valley. The existence of this valley, apparently bearing a large population, had been reported by Mr. Smith and also by Mr. Beaver, and it was known to be situated somewhere to the north of Mount Murray ; but no means of access had yet been discovered, though it was rumoured that there was a tribe called Bara who were in the habit of visiting the valley, and who might be persuaded to act as guides. Mr. Flint's first task, therefore, was to find the Bara tribe, and in that quest he left the base camp, and after a walk of 25 miles arrived at a Bara village called Sibireiu. The residents of Sibireiu denied all knowledge of everything, and Mr. Flint returned to the camp, but not until after a lavish display of trade goods, and the promise of a rich reward to anyone who would guide him to the Samberigi.

On January 26 the expedition started, and on the evening of the fourth day camped at Sibireiu, the village which Mr. Flint had already visited. Here they found two men of the Okani tribe who knew the way to the Samberigi,



and who, after Mr. Flint's previous visit, had been sought out by a village youth who had an eye to the reward. It was afterwards discovered that the Okani are in fact identical with the Samberigi, and that their country extends both to the north and to the south of Mount Murray.

Mount Murray was reached in five days from Sibireiu.

"From the summit of the mountain" (says Mr. Flint in his report), "we saw in a north-westerly direction a large well-cultivated valley. To the west was a high mountain which dwarfed the surrounding peaks. It must be at least 40 miles away, with an altitude of not less than 10,000 feet. To the north-west was another high mountain and to east-north-east another. Range upon range east and west were seen. After we had descended the mountain about 2,000 feet our guides informed us that the village of Donuga was close. Proceeding a little we suddenly broke clear of the scrub and saw in front of us a huge valley. The ground was cleared and cultivated for many miles around. Finally we were escorted to the village of Donuga. We were made very welcome; much handshaking. The air by this time, 5.10 p.m., was decidedly chilly. The fact that the country was cleared of timber for a long way around, caused us some difficulty in finding timber for our fires. These we eventually erected, the local people assisting. The people call the valley Samberigi. At last, we had reached it."

From this point only twenty carriers and eight police were retained, the remainder being sent back to Kikori station, while Mr. Flint, Mr. Saunders, and the rest of the party remained investigating the valleys of the Murray Range for another six or seven weeks. The inhabitants of the Samberigi Valley were friendly throughout. Travellers on the Middle and Upper Fly know the value of the word "Sambio," which is supposed to mean "peace," and has been called by Sir William MacGregor "the Open Sesame of the Fly River"; in the Samberigi the corresponding word is "Kamio," and cries of "Kamio" greeted the party

wherever they went in their progress through the valley. "Kamio," they said to Mr. Flint, who was resting on a heap of stones near a village, "do not sit there. That is the place where we cut up the men we kill before we cook them, and their blood runs into the ground."

The area of the Samberigi Valley is estimated by Mr. Flint at 105 square miles and the population at about 2,000; the southern boundary is the Murray Range, and the northern the Rue Range. The western boundary, says Mr. Flint,

"is closed by high limestone country, and the eastern end by the Murray Range turning north and linking up with the Rue Range, thus forming a wall of mountains. The valley is watered by the Samberigi creek, flowing west. It is fed by numerous smaller streams issuing from the northern and southern slopes of the valley."

The Samberigi apparently disappears underground and emerges to flow into the Kikori or its tributary the Mobi.

Throughout the Samberigi Valley the people were everywhere most friendly and quite ready to show anything they had that might be of interest, including, among other strange things, a mirror consisting of a circular block of stone, with a hole $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, filled with water 3 inches deep. This mirror was called Gaho, and was used by the young men when shaving.¹ The razor is made of bamboo.

The mirror was found at a village in the west of the valley, called Masigi, and a little beyond this village is a mountain which divides the Samberigi from the Tugi district. Entering the Tugi district, the guides became very nervous, and not without reason, for the people of the first village of the Tugi (Niai) proved distinctly hostile.

¹ The archaic stone mortars are used in the same way in other parts of Papua.

The party camped close to the men's house, and all through the night lights could be seen passing along, showing that reinforcements were arriving ; and the guides, creeping up close, could hear the older men taunting the younger, and asking why they had not driven the invaders back to where they came from. It was an unfortunate accident that the arrival of the travellers occurred at the same time as the return of a victorious raiding party, who had gained an easy victory over a neighbouring village, and had now returned flushed with triumph and eager for further bloodshed.

However, by patience and tact, the danger was averted. An attempted surprise was frustrated by the vigilance of the little garrison, the effect of a rifle-shot was demonstrated, it became increasingly clear as time went on that the travellers were not a party of marauders, and eventually after several days it was possible to persuade some of the Niai men to accompany them as guides through the valley, and to the Rue Mountains in the north-west. West of the Rue Mountains nothing but broken and precipitous country could be seen, and the natives stated that it was uninhabited ; so there being nothing further to investigate in this direction, a return was made to the Samberigi. The Niai people were found to be quite friendly on the return journey. They explained that they had thought that the police were allies of the Okani and had come to fight ; and naturally they were not going to " take it lying down."

The party then split in two, Mr. Saunders taking the eastern part of the valley and Mr. Flint the north, towards the Rue Mountains again, where he found the villages of Tiabrigi and Mogolovu. The latter people, he was told, trade with a tribe to the north-north-east, eight days' distant. " When the dry weather comes," they said, " we go to these people to trade. We travel three days from

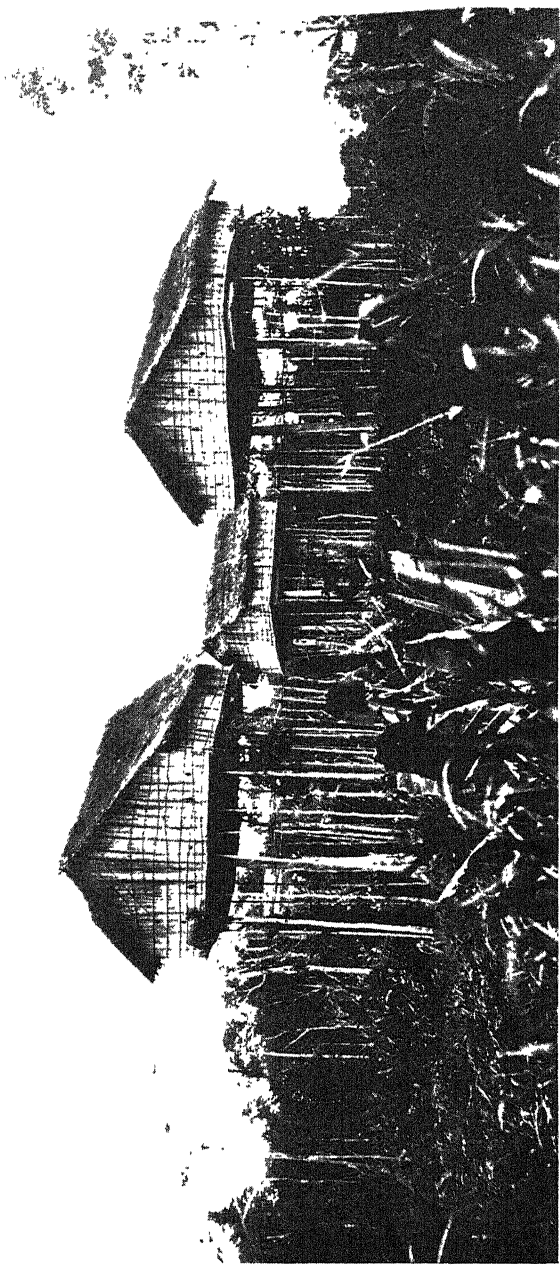
our village and camp until our friends come to us. They have to travel five days to meet us. We cannot go to their village because we cannot carry food for eight or nine days, the country is all big mountains, and we are afraid to go so far from our home."

The Rue Mountains, turning south, almost join the Murray Range, which tends towards the north, and the gap between them is the divide between the valleys of Samberigi and Kerabi. Mr. Flint and Mr. Saunders met at the village of Kerabi, and went together north for a day till they came to a river of very fast-flowing rapids accompanied by high waves, and about 130 yards wide. Its course was south-east. The Kerabi people called it Erawa ; they say that they once tried to pass it in order to fight the people over the range, but their attempt failed and five men were drowned ; they have seen men on the other bank, but cannot cross to them.

The Kerabi Valley was examined to its end, and Mr. Flint then returned to the camp at Donuga, where Mr. Saunders had preceded him.

The valleys had now been examined and supplies were running short, so it was decided to return to the station.

The return journey was made in a south-easterly direction from Donuga through the Ro and Keai country to the Sirebi River, above the farthest point reached by Mr. H. L. Murray and myself in 1910, and so into the Kikori. The Ro and Keai are now collected into three small villages ; they were once strong tribes, but apparently have suffered severely at the hands of the Samberigi. These people had been seen before and had been noticeable for wearing dried hands round their necks ; Mr. Flint explains that these are the hands of friends or relatives—they do not take the hands of enemies.



ALICE OR TEDI RIVER VILLAGE

The journey was a very rough one ; the route lay to the east of Mr. Smith's track in 1910, which lies, therefore, between the two routes followed by Mr. Flint going and returning. The routes cross at Mount Murray. Mr. Flint arrived at the Government station on April 5, after an absence of eleven weeks. The Samberigi Valley was visited again by Messrs. Woodward and Saunders in 1923 ; they covered much the same ground as the previous party, but returned by a different route—by the Kikori instead of the Sirebi.

Summing up the results of his examination, Mr. Flint says :

“The upraised limestone plateau, lying to the north of a range of mountains of which Wari, or Mount Murray, forms part, consists of a succession of valleys. These valleys are separated from each other by mountain ranges. Upon examining these valleys we found them cleared, cultivated, and inhabited ; the highlands separating them are of a rugged nature. The largest and most extremely cultivated, and that which carries the largest population, is without doubt the Samberigi Valley.

“Travelling in a westerly direction down the Samberigi Valley, until the high country terminates the valley, and crossing a low range, another valley is met. This we called the Tugi or Hegerebu Valley. This valley is not so well cultivated. It is inhabited by a fierce, warlike, and plundering tribe known as Tugi. From the northern slopes of Rue Range we saw range after range of rough mountainous country. The Tugi men denied all knowledge of people settled in that direction. Supplies would not allow us examining uninhabited country.

“Another valley known as Kerabi lies to the east of Samberigi Valley ; but it is really an extension of that valley. At the end of this valley are two districts—Siri and Foraba. These are inhabited by people of that name.

“With the exception of the Tugi people, all are living in peace with each other.”

West of Kikori an extended patrol was made by Mr.

Ryan, Resident Magistrate, in the latter part of 1913, towards the Strickland River. Mr. Ryan left the Kikori about a mile above Mr. Smith's camp in 1910 and marched west to the Turama, which he reached at the most northerly end of the Darai Hills. He then turned to the north-west, following the course of the Turama until about the 7th parallel, and then leaving that river and continuing in the same direction (north-west) for twenty-four days.

At the end of that time, he found himself on the banks of a river, 35 yards wide, flowing due south ; the name of this river is apparently Wa We, and it is probably a tributary of the Bamu. Here the party built a raft and committed themselves to the unknown waters, and all went well until about four o'clock in the afternoon ; and then they came upon a timber block in the river, where a large rubber tree had fallen across the stream. The west bank at this point was 25 feet above the water, and the east bank only about three. Police and carriers were set to work to cut through this obstruction, when suddenly a look-out, who had been posted on the higher bank, raised the cry, " Bushmen he come," and sure enough they came, and with them a flight of arrows that poured thick and fast into the raft. Mr. Ryan ordered all to take cover on the east bank, but himself, with characteristic courage, remained on the raft to protect Constable Bam, his orderly, who was ill and unable to move. One arrow struck Mr. Ryan's hat, another stuck in his left shoulder, a third in his boot, and a fourth penetrated his right forearm and stuck out 3 inches on the other side. Both arms were now disabled, and his hands dropped to his side, but the thought of abandoning Constable Bam never seems to have occurred to him. Down the bank swarmed the bushmen, anxious to finish him off with their clubs ; but now

the police took a hand, and opened fire from the eastern bank, and one of the carriers, by name Pundava,¹ very pluckily jumped on to the raft, amid a shower of arrows, pulled out the arrow from Mr. Ryan's shoulder, cut short the one that had penetrated the forearm, and gave him back his revolver, which had dropped when he was struck.

Eventually the bushmen were driven off ; but the fight lasted forty minutes. Fifty-seven arrows were found embedded in the raft.

The question now was how to get the arrow out of Mr. Ryan's right arm. "Some of the police," says Mr. Ryan, "suggested hammering it out the same as Mr. Cardew did with Constable Daru at Kikori." On this suggestion Mr. Ryan's only comment is that he "dissented." Eventually, he says,

"I had a solution of permanganate made ; then got one of the constables to cut off two of the barbs of the arrow, and pour the solution over it ; I then got vaseline and smeared that part which had to go through my arm. One of the carriers tried to pull it through, but it would not draw, so he cut round with a piece of shell. After cutting, they started to draw the arrow, which took fully three minutes, but seemed to me to be three hours. During the night I suffered intense pain. Sleep was impossible."

Mr. Ryan suffered acute agony for several days, but was forced to continue his march, as the party were now short of food, and it was necessary to find sago ; there appeared to be none lower down the Wa We, so the raft was abandoned, and a return made to a point where palms had been seen some days before. This place was reached in eight days from the scene of the attack, and enough sago was made to last a few days ; but as all other stores were exhausted, Mr. Ryan decided to take the first opportunity of returning

¹ Now a corporal of constabulary.

to the coast. Five days later a river was found flowing south, a raft was made, and the party again trusted themselves to the water—this time with better fortune, for the river turned out to be the Awarra, a tributary of the Bamu, and their troubles were nearly over. But not quite, for the raft was smashed by the bore coming up the Bamu eight days after they had started; fortunately, no great harm was done, and the loss was a light one, for they could now hire canoes, and in these they reached the mouth of the Bamu two days later. Thence they crossed to Kiwai Island and Daru, and so ended a patrol that had lasted from the ninth of August to the fifth of November. The farthest point reached was at Camp No. 50, approximately $142^{\circ} 25'$ E., $6^{\circ} 35'$ S. The party embarked on the Awarra at Camp 63, which is placed (approximately) at $142^{\circ} 20'$ E., $6^{\circ} 50'$ S.

Mr. Ryan saw coal on this expedition, but otherwise the results were mainly negative.

“I found” (he says) “the country very sparsely populated, and the natives met with between the Kikori and Turama Rivers of a similar type to the people of those villages in proximity to the Kikori station. After crossing the Turama, no natives were met with until I arrived at the Abavi River” (this was a river which Mr. Ryan crossed about seven days before reaching the Wa We, of which it is apparently a confluent); “those people were most friendly, and spoke a dialect which included words of both the ‘Kerewa’ (Goaribari) and Bamu River languages. After leaving the Abavi River, only one native was seen until we were coming down the Wa We River, when a large party attacked us. These were typical hillmen, and wore their hair in plaits, some of them having it done in a single plait, which reached to the small of their backs.

“During the whole trip not a garden was seen, the people living in between the Turama and Kikori Rivers are apparently sago-eaters. The people in the Abavi live mostly on sago, but I think they have small patches of garden in from the river.

“The country in between the Kikori and Turama Rivers consists of very rough limestone mountains. After crossing the Turama, no limestone was met with, but the country consisted of a succession of ridges, varying in height from 50 to 500 feet. There was mostly thick scrub in between the ridges, which were covered with light forest timber. Numerous trees of the *ficus Rigo* variety were met with, and patches of sago were frequently utilized for renewing our food supplies.”

Of the coal, Mr. Ryan says :

“An abundance of coal seems to prevail in the country I traversed, seams of varying thicknesses being frequently met with, and I have no doubt that if a systematic examination of the district was made, with a view to the exploitation of the coal for commercial purposes, coal in very large quantities would be discovered. The surface coal is of no commercial value, but, in my opinion, it indicates that coal of a superior quality may be met with on sinking below the surface.”

Mr. Thompson, patrol officer, accompanied Mr. Ryan to the Turama, and returned from there to the station, as the available supplies were insufficient for two white men. The stream called Thompson's Creek was so called by Mr. Ryan “in view of the great assistance which that officer rendered to me.”

The farthest point on the Turama was reached by Mr. Justice Herbert and Mr. H. L. Murray, when searching for Mr. Smith's party in 1911. Messrs. Flint and Storry reached this point again in 1917, and examined the surrounding country on both sides of the river. The results were mainly negative—rough limestone country, with occasional patches of good soil and heavy timber, and a scanty population, subsisting chiefly on sago, with a few gardens of taro and bananas.

Farther to the west, the Fly and Strickland Rivers have been frequently visited of recent years ; the lower parts of

the Fly, for about 80 or 100 miles from the mouth, are regularly patrolled from the Government station at Daru, and the higher regions and the Strickland River have been examined by Messrs. Massey Baker and Burrows, Messrs. Ryan and Burrows, Messrs. Lyons and Austen, Messrs. Austen and Logan, and Mr. H. L. Murray, and myself on three occasions, as well as by private expeditions of Sir Rupert Clarke and Messrs. Pryke brothers, two very well-known prospectors. The Prykes found traces of gold, but nothing more, and indeed, with the exception of the Herbert River and Lake Murray, between the Fly and the Strickland, which were discovered by Messrs. Baker and Burrows in 1913, and the explorations of Messrs. Austen and Logan between the Alice, a tributary of the Upper Fly, and the Dutch border, nothing very much has been found on either river since the original visits of D'Albertis and Everill to the Fly and Strickland in 1877 and 1885 respectively. Mr. Murray and myself, with Mr. Burrows, who accompanied us on that occasion, were fortunate in finding a village of natives who were living in a peculiar kind of tree-house, and were wearing cuirasses of rattan (called Irim), as a protection against arrows, but otherwise no new type of native was discovered until the visit of Messrs. Austen and Logan in 1922. A cuirass of the kind to which I refer had been found by D'Albertis in a deserted house on the Alice River, but the tribe who wore them had not been met with (at any rate in Papua) until our visit in 1914.¹

Mr. Massey Baker was patrolling the Upper Fly and the Strickland, in order to ascertain whether there was sufficient population to justify a new station, and if so, where

¹ See, as to the origin of the cuirass-wearing people, Dr. A. C. Haddon, Introduction to Holmes's *In Primitive New Guinea*.

the station should be placed. He left Daru on June 2, 1913, and on the 5th of the following month was ascending the Strickland, about 45 miles from Everill junction, when he "entered a wide river on the western bank." At first he thought that this was the western channel of the Strickland passing round an island, "but," he continues in his report,

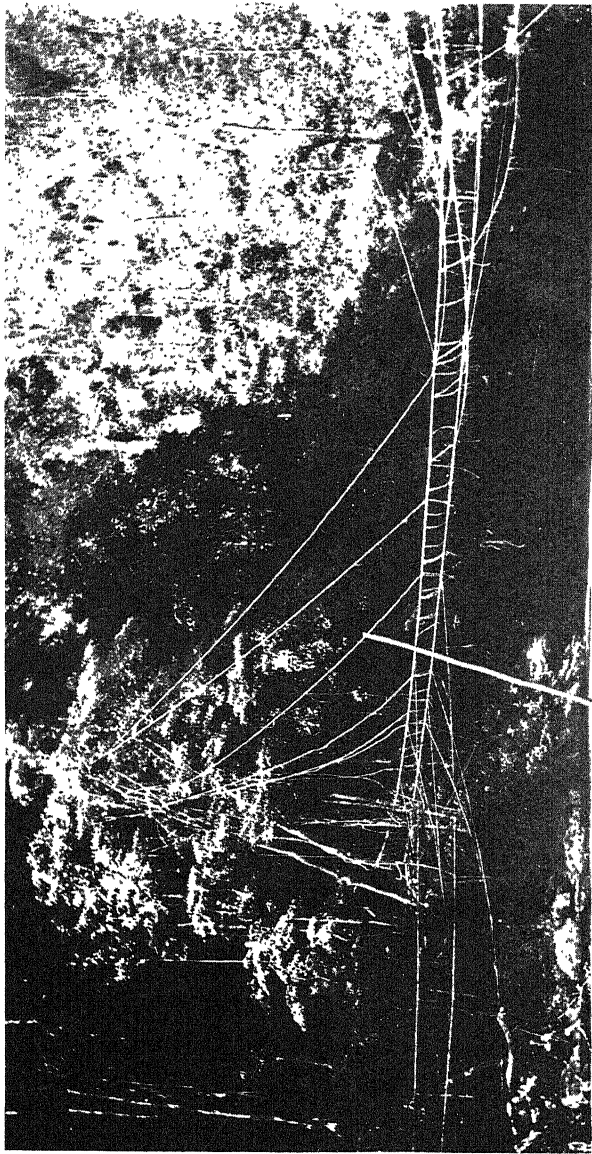
"it turned out to be a previously undiscovered river. At its junction with the Strickland it is about 120 yards wide, but varies in its course, being in some parts nearly 200 yards wide. I have taken the liberty of calling the river after the Honourable Mr. Justice Herbert. Immense flocks of geese and other wildfowl rose out of the reeds fringing the banks; there was no apparent current, and the depth varied from two to four fathoms. Bordered with tall cane-grass, with occasional clumps of bamboo and small timber, it had all the appearance of the main river."

After a course of some 30 miles west from the Strickland, the Herbert "opens out into a magnificent lake, dotted with islands of bamboo." "The scene," Mr. Baker adds, "was enchanting." This lake he called Lake Murray. On the question of population, Mr. Baker reports that the country "bordering the west bank of the Strickland, as far as latitude $6^{\circ} 50'$, and the west and east banks of the Fly from the junction to approximately $7^{\circ} 20'$, was thoroughly investigated," and the conclusion he comes to is that on the Strickland there is a very sparse population, considerably scattered, and not exceeding 3,000 at the outside, and that there is no population at all on the part of the Fly that was investigated. Mr. Baker excludes the people of the lake from his estimate for the Strickland; these people number some hundreds. Mr. Baker found them hostile, and so did I when I was there in 1914 and 1917; but on my visit in 1922 they were quite friendly. We saw no natives at all on the Upper Strickland.

A party of bird-hunters from Merauke, in Dutch New Guinea, under Messrs. Bell and Drechsler, former residents of Papua, was reported in the year 1920 to have been murdered on the Fly River, on the left or British side of the river, where it bends into Dutch territory. Investigations that were made from Daru, with the assistance of the Dutch Government, established the fact that the murder had not been committed on the Fly River, but farther to the west, in Dutch territory. During these investigations, the Fly, below the Alice, was thoroughly examined, and connection was also made with the Dutch post at Assiki. As a result, in the following year, 1922, Messrs. Austen and Logan conducted a very successful examination of the country of the north-west corner, where the three territories meet—an examination which would perhaps have been less successful and certainly more difficult but for the assistance of a guide, a native of the Star Mountains, whose services were very generously allowed by the Dutch officer stationed at Assiki.

The expedition left Daru on January 12, 1922, and returned on April 5. The ascent of the Alice commenced on February 10, but on the second day a seemingly insuperable obstacle was encountered in the shape of a rocky bar, covered with shingle, carrying less than 7 feet, the draught of the launch *Nivani*, which was conveying the party; however, a sudden rise in the river floated the *Nivani*, the bar was crossed, and the launch went on for about half a day farther, until the current became too strong for further progress.

A camp was formed on the bank, and was soon visited by natives, who, they said, had heard a shot and had come along expecting to find Malays—for Malays are apparently in the habit of visiting this part of the territory on their



A NATIVE BRIDGE, NORTHERN DIVISION

bird-collecting expeditions. These natives were surprised to find white men, whom, it seems, they have never seen before, except for a strange story that some of them had seen two white men going up the river in a canoe ten or fifteen years before ; who these men can have been I do not know, unless they were our party of 1914. We were 35 miles up the Alice, and saw some natives ; but we were not in a canoe.

These natives called the Alice the Ok-Tedi (" Ok," Mr. Austen says, means " river "), and they said that it ran into a very large river due south, which they called Ok-Birak (evidently the Fly) ; they also spoke of a tributary of the Tedi running in from the north-east, called Ok-Mart, and of another, Ok-Birim, away in the north. But they had not seen Ok-Birim, for " it was too far away."

These visitors were from the western side of the Alice ; they speak apparently a different language from the inhabitants of the eastern bank. These latter seemed much more timid than those of the western bank, and, from the difference in language, it was more difficult to conciliate them. The visitors from the western side brought with them a rattan cuirass (Irim). They seem to be the same people as those seen by us on the Fly River near the Alice junction in 1914.

The river being impracticable for the launch, it was decided to continue the investigation on foot, the launch in the meantime returning to the Fly River. For eleven days the party marched north, over undulating and occasionally rather rough country, and were then compelled to return through lack of supplies to carry them farther. They could find no more tracks leading north, the direction in which they wished to go, so that further progress could only be made by cutting a path through the bush—a

slow and tedious process, which only allows of a very few miles a day. At this point probably about 10 miles of mountainous country intervened in a direct line between them and the old German border ; these mountains were of no great height—possibly 2,000 to 3,000 feet—but in the distance, apparently on the other side of the border, some tall peaks were seen of uncertain altitude. These peaks, if connected by a high range, would prove a serious obstacle to a continued advance towards the north. The greatest altitude actually reached by the party is given as a little under 2,000 feet—1,950 feet to be exact.

In returning, the party struck the Alice higher up, and came down the river on a raft. They had been absent nineteen days.

There was no serious difficulty with the natives of the Alice, perhaps because the visits of Malay bird-collectors had familiarized them with the idea of an outer world, inhabited by people of strange colour, though there was a certain amount of timidity, even on the western bank of the river. Several villages were passed, but almost invariably the inhabitants fled, and it was not without difficulty that the party could get into touch with them, even through interpreters. The villages contained tree-houses, like those occupied by the wearers of cuirass seen on the Fly River in 1914, and a most extraordinary and indeed almost incredible thing about them is that some of them, at any rate, had a regular sanitary system on the deep pit principle. This consisted of a hole about 3 feet in diameter and about 30 feet deep, with the earth piled up alongside for use as a covering. Mr. Austen was told that these pits were in common use, and had been from time immemorial.

Mr. Austen found a greater number of people living on the banks of the Fly River than had been seen by previous

visitors ; probably these people move readily from place to place, so that the population may vary considerably.

Messrs. Ryan and Burrows, who were investigating this river in 1914, were stranded for five months in latitude $6^{\circ} 8' 30''$, between the Fly and the Strickland, while examining a tributary of the Fly that comes in from the east, and during this time the launch was visited by natives who lived in the vicinity ; but they were not numerous, and the population between the rivers is probably inconsiderable. Mr. Burrows, on taking the launch down the river, had a further piece of ill-fortune, and ran her upon a sand-bank, where she remained for several days. On this occasion, too, the party had visitors, and among them were six men who, if they may be taken as a fair type of their tribe, might be classed as pygmies,¹ or more probably as a mixed race descended from pygmies and people of ordinary stature. Apparently they came from the mountains and were paying a visit to some friends. This tribe has not been seen since, at any rate in Papua. On the whole the population of these two rivers may be taken as very small, even for Papua, which is certainly a country of empty spaces, but to estimate the number would be little better than guess-work.

Messrs. Austen and Logan returned to the same district at the end of 1923 and established a police camp on the Alice River. Mr. Austen on this occasion examined the country along the Dutch boundary ; his previous examination had been principally of the eastern bank and of the country between the Alice and the Fly. The native population was found to be scanty and scattered about in small villages ; the people were timid but apparently well-disposed. Shortage of supplies and an almost complete

¹ See *ante*, p. 27.

absence of native food compelled Mr. Austen to return, but not before he had practically completed his examination of the north-west corner of the territory. At his farthest point he had before him to the north and west a mass of high mountains covered with forest, and to the west a wide level valley ; but there was no sign of life.

Beyond Daru, between the Fly and the Dutch boundary, the country has been fairly well examined, nearly as far north as the 8th degree of latitude. This has been the work of numerous patrols from Daru by Mr. Lyons, Resident Magistrate, and other officers who have been stationed there. Mr. Lyons reports the country generally as low-lying and thinly covered with forest, in which the ti-tree or melaleuca predominates. The remainder, he says, is made up of ironstone ridges scantily overgrown with forest trees, small plots of scrub-covered land, and swamps.

On the north the country is drained by the Bituri and Dawaro Rivers, and several large creeks which all run into the Fly ; on the south by the Bensbach, Morehead, and other rivers which flow into the sea. The ironstone ridges separate the two river systems.

During the north-west monsoon all the low-lying land is flooded, practically all the rainfall for the year being crowded into three or four months ; after the rains are over the country becomes gradually parched into a drought-stricken wilderness, where travellers must carry water or run the risk of death by thirst. Back from the rivers and the coast the natives are semi-nomads, moving their dwellings as the water supply diminishes, and, according to Mr. Lyons, never remaining on the same spot for more than a year ; but the population is small, and game is plentiful, so that living conditions are not so hard as one might expect.

These people were formerly the prey of the Tugeri head-hunters from Dutch New Guinea ; their pacification has been attended with but little difficulty. A curious thing about one of the types of natives found in this western country (for there are several) is its extraordinary resemblance in appearance to the ordinary Australian "black-fellow"—a resemblance which is just as striking as that which the country itself, with its hot sun-scorched plains, thinly covered with eucalyptus, ti-tree, wattle, bottle brush, and other familiar plants, bears to many parts of the Australian bush. There is a theory that the languages of these western tribes are Australian rather than Papuan in their affinities, but there are none of them sufficiently well known to justify anything like a definite conclusion.¹

Such, briefly, is the history of Papuan exploration during the last few years. It has been carried out without any assistance from outside, and almost entirely by Government officers in the ordinary course of their duties, with occasional very welcome assistance from miners and other residents ; and it has been carried out in very difficult country, often among a very hostile and savage population, with hardly the loss of a life. That this has been possible speaks well for the self-control and discipline of the police, and for the tact and patience of their officers.

¹ See *ante*, p. 34.

CHAPTER XII.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations—Repudiation of the View that a Colony is to be regarded merely as a Business Proposition—Acceptance of the Theory of a Trust—British and German Colonies—Australian Administration of Papua—Attitude of First Investors in Papua—Whole Administration necessarily coloured by relation of the White Man to the Native—Unpopularity of Commonwealth Policy—Testimony of Sir G. W. des Voeux—Opposition to Native Administration culminates in Appeal to the King—Eventually Subsides—No Precedent to follow in Papua as regards Native Administration—African and other Precedents of Little Assistance—Despotism and Slavery unknown to Papuans—Effect of Arrival of Europeans—Introduction of Metals and Establishment of Intertribal Peace—Moral and Material Effects—The Savage as a “Gentleman”—Imagination necessary in dealing with Native Races—“Thinking Black”—Disappearance of Native Ideas and Customs—Break-up of Native Life—Introduction of Christianity—Assistance of Christian Missions to be welcomed.

“To those colonies and territories which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.”

These are the words of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In terms they apply only to enemy possessions, but the principles which the Covenant embodies must be taken to extend also to colonies and territories which are in the possession of the allies.

Article 22 in fact means the final repudiation of one system of colonial government, and the definite acceptance of another. It marks the abandonment of the theory that a colony is to be regarded merely as a business proposition, and the native inhabitants merely as “assets” to be utilized

for the purpose of the business ; and it marks the definite approval of the opposite theory, that the colonizing power has a special duty towards the colony and its inhabitants, quite apart from any questions of business and development.

The growth of this theory, which has been finally accepted by the League, is traced by Sir Hugh Clifford back to the impeachment of Warren Hastings in 1788. And it has been extended, he says, until

“ It has come to be accepted among us as axiomatic that where Europeans assume responsibility for the administration of territories inhabited by primitive and backward races these lands must primarily be governed for the benefit of native populations . . . ; that they cannot, without gross injustice, be made to accord any special or exclusive privileges to Europeans ; that the natives must be protected from unfair exploitation ; and that upon them must be conferred the largest measure of personal freedom, peace, order, security and equality of opportunity.”¹

And Sir Frederick Lugard, in the *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, expresses himself to the same effect.²

This theory, that the colonizing power has a special duty towards the natives, had come to be peculiarly associated with British colonization, while the more purely business methods had found favour with German administrators, though even in Germany there were many who supported the British view. “ We have had native risings and extremely silly European settlement schemes,” said Professor Moritz Bonn, speaking in January 1914 before the Royal Colonial Institute. “ Apart from S.W. Africa, where we solved the native problem by smashing tribal life and by creating a scarcity of labour, we are only just now beginning to understand native administration.”³ And it is

¹ *German Colonies*, p. iii, 112: *V. ante*, p. 135.

² P. 18.

³ Evans Lewin, *The Germans and Africa*, p. 111.

interesting to note that the first German Colonial Minister, Bernhard Dernburg, on his visit to Africa, drew the attention of German officials to the example set them by the British.¹

So it would be a mistake to press the distinction too far and to represent all Germans as harsh taskmasters, determined to get every possible ounce out of their native "assets"; and it would probably be equally a mistake to regard all British administrators as philanthropists. It would seem indeed that the method of selecting high officials in the German colonies was in some ways unfortunate, for we find that

"a [German] colonial Governor was found guilty of brutality, of taking lives unjustifiably, and of being prompted by sensual motives to acts of vindictiveness, and he was deprived of office and titles. Another Governor more lately was fined and reprimanded—he had already been relieved of office—for forging a passport for a paramour whom he had audaciously set up by his side in the place of administration. A third Governor has under Herr Dernburg's régime been dismissed from the service for torturing a native chief to death by flogging him and chaining him to a flagstaff for thirty-six hours without food or water." ²

But others, like Dr. Sölf in Samoa and Dr. Hahl in German New Guinea, were humane men and careful of the interests of the natives under their charge.

One can hardly imagine British Governors committing any of the outrages which Mr. Dawson mentions, but it is possible that there have been some who have not invariably acted up to the high standard laid down by Sir Hugh Clifford and others, and who have been rather inclined to look upon the "sacred trust" as a figure of speech to which

¹ Evans Lewin, *The Germans and Africa*, p. 281.

² W. H. Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, Ch. XVIII, quoted by Evans Lewin, p. 275.

it was never intended to attach any very definite meaning.

The theory of the priority of native interests has been treated as "axiomatic" by Sir Hugh Clifford. But I cannot help thinking that during the last few years there has been a reaction against this view of administration, and that there is a growing tendency to find much virtue in the robust simplicity of the German system ; and to regard the native and his lands as the spoils of the conquering and superior race, to be exploited by members of that race primarily for their own benefit. I do not mean that you will find writers who have the courage to put their views in this plain and unvarnished language, for, so far as I know, all still at least pay lip service to the "axiom" of Sir Hugh Clifford ; but in actual administration I fancy that the importance of native interests looms less large at the present time than it did before the war.

I do not suggest that there is any tendency towards actual ill-treatment of native races, and probably few, if any, in English-speaking countries would go so far as to deny the existence of our responsibility towards them, but I fear that many would in fact, though perhaps not in word, subordinate it to other objects. In the jargon of the present-day psychology, the old idea of treating inferior races not as human beings, but merely as means to an end, still exists in the unconscious, and may occasionally succeed in emerging therefrom and in expressing itself in action.

However this may be (and I need not say that I hope I may be quite mistaken) there is no doubt that the Australian administration of Papua is wholly committed to the view that the interests of the native are to be regarded as of the first importance ; for though the principle has nowhere been laid down with formal precision, you will find it running through all the administrative acts of the Com-

monwealth, at any rate before and during the war, and it has certainly never been repudiated since. And there has been a serious and consistent attempt on the part of the Papuan Government to carry the principle into actual effect.

No secret had been made by the Commonwealth of the policy that would be followed, but intending settlers were inclined to ridicule anything of the kind as humanitarian rubbish. For the general belief was that the Papuan Government would be careful not to run counter to public opinion or to seek any quarrels with investors; and would in effect pay the more powerful companies the compliment of allowing them to "run" the administration to suit themselves. This was the case, it was said, under other Governments, and the precedent would be followed in Papua.

. But to the utter amazement of every one concerned, the precedent (if indeed there was one) was not followed in Papua. I think that it was with genuine horror that the first investors realized that the native interests would actually be considered, that the provisions of the various ordinances and regulations were really going to be carried out, that native evidence might be believed in Court, that a native might get a verdict against his employer, and that a white man might even be sent to jail on native evidence. I say that it was genuine horror, because I am sure that the majority really did think that all these things were most iniquitous. They honestly thought that ordinances and regulations should be kept for show, or at any rate should hardly be used against a company that had spent money in the country and was prepared to spend more, and that native evidence should never be received against a European. They were also deeply imbued with the idea that the native was an "asset," but seemed to have little suspicion that he was anything more.

It must not be supposed that the people to whom I refer were more avaricious or less humane than the rest of us, it was merely that they looked at the native question from an entirely different point of view. In fact the opinion that the native is not quite a man in the same sense that we are, is really not very uncommon, though it is rarely expressed ; but it did not meet with the approval of either the Australian or the Papuan Government, and friction was the inevitable result.

Land and labour are naturally the two main points in which the interests of the settlers are likely to come into direct collision with those of the natives, but, indirectly and incidentally, the two are in almost continuous opposition. So the whole administration is coloured by the relation of the native to the European, and a Governor of varied experience can say with truth that "in some of the Crown Colonies where there are different races with sharply-opposed interests the unpopularity of a Governor may be in direct proportion to his performance of his duty."¹ In other words, a Governor can in such cases only gain popularity by neglecting his duty towards the natives.

Consequently, in electing to follow the British precedent, and to consider the protection and advancement of the native as of paramount importance, the Commonwealth Government was not entering on a path which was likely to lead to popularity, or to win applause from the people at large. It was, on the contrary, electing to follow a course which would be unpopular from the first, and which would become more and more unpopular as time went on and development increased. It is doubtless true that, in the long run, the interests of the two—the interests, that is, of the natives and of the European settlers—are not

¹ Sir G. W. des Voeux, *My Colonial Service*, Vol. II, p. 133.

inconsistent, that the one set of interests is rather complementary of the other, and that, as a principle of administration, one should never lose sight of the fact that there is no essential opposition between them ; but the fact remains that at any given moment they are generally diametrically and even perhaps bitterly opposed. This opposition colours almost the whole of local opinion, and nearly all of the misconception which existed with regard to the administration of Papua arose from a failure to understand the native policy. On this point I may repeat what I said in 1914 :—

“The duty of the Papuan Government—the duty, in fact, of any Government which wishes to remain true to the best traditions of Imperial administration—is not only to develop the resources of the Territory, but also to preserve the Papuan and to raise him eventually to the highest civilization of which he is capable ; for we wish Australia to have the credit of showing how the civilization of the twentieth century can be introduced among people of the Stone Age, not only without injury to them, but to their lasting benefit and permanent advancement.

“Now the settler has no such duty, and he is too often inclined to think that a Government which pursues this end, and is anxious to protect and assist the native in his rapid transit from savagery to civilization, is actuated by a sickly and unpractical sentimentality. Hence, in any tropical country which has a large native population at a low stage of development, there is apt to be a feeling of opposition to the Government on native questions, and this feeling of opposition easily passes into a general disapproval of everything the Government does, even in matters which are not connected with natives. This was the case, for instance, in the early days of Fiji, and history seems to be repeating itself in Papua.”

I was right in my prediction that the course followed by the Government would become more and more unpopular as time went on, and the discontent culminated eventually in a telegram which was sent to the King, in which my

“persistent and persecuting actions” were alleged to be “leading to serious and dangerous uprising of white people” in Papua, and in which His Majesty was respectfully requested to “take immediate action which honour and integrity of Empire demands.” This was in September 1920. The immediate occasion of the final agitation had, as is often the case, been a very trivial matter ; it was in fact nothing more important than a statement which I had made to the effect that white labour was less efficient in the tropics than in the temperate regions. Apparently no one disputed the fact, but it was thought that I should not have mentioned it, and my statement was construed as an expression of contempt for the white race in general ; but as I have already said, this was merely the occasion of an outburst. The real cause was a growing dissatisfaction with the native policy and administration, exasperated, no doubt, by low prices of rubber and other produce, by unsatisfactory shipping facilities, and by the increased price of all necessary commodities.

It appeared afterwards that the cable was sent without authority, and at a subsequent meeting of the residents of Port Moresby it was repudiated. The Federal Minister, the Hon. A. Poynton, visited the Territory the following year to inquire into the causes of the unrest, and, after hearing various deputations, expressed himself as thoroughly satisfied with the administration ; his visit had a very good effect, and since then attacks upon the local government have practically ceased. There are, of course, and always must be, many points on which residents and others interested in Papua do not agree with the administration, but I think that it is realized at last that we are not actuated by any desire to check development or to injure European settlers, that we are honestly trying to carry out the policy

which we have laid down, and that that policy has been definitely approved by the Commonwealth.

In the details of our native administration we have been under the disadvantage of having no precedent to follow. We have indeed the general principles laid down by various writers on this subject, and we have now the definite statement of the Covenant of the League of Nations ; but these, though useful as general landmarks, are of no great value as guides to practical administration. As I have already shown, the Imperial Government of Papua came to an end before any detailed questions of native policy had actually arisen. We had of course a great advantage in coming after a British administration ; Australian officers naturally followed in the footsteps of their British predecessors, and, having no previous experience to guide them, accepted the methods which they found in operation. So British principles of administration were crystallized in Papua, and these are the principles which were eventually approved by the League of Nations.

This, as I say, was a great advantage, but when it came to concrete instances of native administration, such as e.g. native education and taxation, there was nothing to guide us. There were of course precedents in Africa and in Asia, but the conditions of Papua were so different that one had to be very careful how one followed these precedents. For instance, I have read Sir F. Lugard's great work *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* more than once, and with a lively interest, but just as he says that methods applicable to Africans may be quite misplaced in the case of Asiatics, so I have found but little in the book that can be of direct assistance in the administration of Papua.

Nor can we get much to guide us from the European

settlements in Asia, or even in the Malay Archipelago. For, though the natives of Papua differ very much among themselves, they agree at any rate in this, that they have little or no resemblance with the semi-civilized inhabitants of, e.g., India, Ceylon, or Java. In Java you have natives who, before Europeans came there, had been moulded by Indian and Arab culture and had become used to a regular government, while in Papua you have to deal with a population still in the Stone Age, with no traditions of settled government, who a generation ago were in a state of barbarism. It is not that the natives of Papua are in general lacking in intelligence ; their backwardness is rather due to the fact that, through the accidents of their history, they have been debarred from intercourse with the higher races of Europe and Asia.

Hence a form of administration which might be eminently successful in Ceylon or Java might well be a hopeless failure in Papua. Not only are the racial differences very great, but, as I have just said, the Papuan is centuries behind the Malay or the Javanese. He has indeed advanced from the nomadic state to that of settled habitations, but there he has stopped. Some form of despotism seems to be a necessary stage in human development, and the Papuan never reached this stage. He has had no chiefs who possessed any widespread authority, no rajahs, no powerful rulers, and he has never known slavery, and so has never acquired habits of sustained industry. I have occasionally asked natives who had taken part in a raid on some village why they killed all their enemies, and why they did not take them prisoners and make them work ; they agreed that it would be a great idea, but explained that they had never thought of it. The conditions of his life prevented the Papuan in most parts of Papua from being a very lazy

man, but these conditions did not exercise the continuous pressure that would have come from a system of slavery.

The magnitude of the changes which the arrival of the white man has made in the life of the native can hardly be realized by us. We are accustomed to speak of the enormous alterations in our life which have been brought about in a single generation, and the present unrest in the world is sometimes explained by the fact that, as a result of the war, the innovations which would otherwise be spread over two or perhaps three generations are being crammed into one. But with the Stone Age native of Papua it is not merely a question of skipping a few generations; the Papuan, on the arrival of the white man, is confronted with an entirely new civilization, and is invited to step over a gap which the wisest and most gifted races have hardly crossed in twenty centuries.

The introduction of metals and the establishment of intertribal peace are the two outstanding facts about European settlement in a country like Papua; and, so far as one can see, they are the most far-reaching of all in their material effects. The Papuan led an energetic life before the white man came. He had no metals, he had to produce everything for himself, he had to build his houses, to fashion his weapons, to make his canoe, with no steel to help him, to fell the timber, to smooth the plank, to hollow the trunk, and to grind the stone to the sharpness of the adze with no tools except those which nature provided. At the same time he had to be always ready to defend himself or to run for his life. Any day he might be attacked by the hereditary enemy lurking in the bush, anxious to secure the trophy of a head, or to pay back for some murder of long ago; any night the village might be surrounded and burnt to the ground, and all who could not escape ruthlessly mas-

sacred. So a Papuan had to be pretty "fit" in those days if he expected to survive. Then we came along with the Pax Britannica, which forbids the delight of head-hunting and the joys of the midnight raid, and with our steel tools, which enable him to do his work in a tenth of the time, and the principal interest of his life immediately disappear.

Thus it is obvious that, though the meeting of the Stone Age with the age of steam and electricity is not necessarily fatal to the representatives of the lower culture, it must in any case bring about changes which are nothing less than revolutionary in their social and industrial life, and which it is our duty to encourage or to check, or at least to mitigate, according as we see them to be good or bad.

We have two methods of investigating these changes, but, so far as I know, only two ; one is by observation, and the other is by analogy and imagination. Much has been done in this direction by the aid of the imagination, I mean, of course, by an imagination properly instructed and controlled. Anthropologists usually, in my experience, employ the second method I have mentioned, and they have done very good work, though not so much by definite advice in particular instances as by formulating principles of general application. Government officers, missionaries, and other residents who take an interest in these matters, have also given valuable assistance ; their method has usually been by observation, and the result, unlike the work of the anthropologists, has as a rule been useful, not by establishing general principles, but rather as a guide in a particular case. Of course I do not mean that this distinction is exclusive, that the anthropologist is necessarily unpractical, or that no one but an anthropologist has any imagination or any capacity for general ideas ; it is a general distinction, and arises naturally enough from the fact that the one has the

learning without the experience, and the other the experience without the learning.

I must therefore apologize for the fact that, though I am no anthropologist, I have myself ventured into the realm which I have assigned to that science, and have tried to imagine the effects that the sudden arrival of nineteenth-century Europeans would have upon a primitive people ; and I have called in, to assist my imagination, the results of my own observations, and what I have been able to learn from the observations of others.

As a result I have distinguished the effects of contact with European civilization as material and moral. The material effects are seen clearly enough in direct connection with the two matters that I have mentioned, the introduction of metals and the establishment of peace ; but the moral disturbance is less obvious. When old native traditions and customs, tabu, totem, and all the rest of them, tend to become disintegrated and to disappear, we often think that it is a good thing that they should disappear, for to our eyes they seem rather ridiculous, and so no doubt many of them are ; but still they have, during many generations, been the protection of men and women in time of stress and trial and, when these customs and traditions are weakened, the *moral* of those who have to battle through life without them must surely be weakened also.

It seems probable that this disturbance, moral and material, in the life of the native is the reason (apart altogether from introduced disease and similar causes) for the decrease in vitality that has often been noticed among coloured races after the arrival of the white man.

For the material disturbance the Government must find a remedy, or it fails in its duty altogether ; but for the

former, that is the moral disturbance, the Government can do nothing directly. It is for the missionary, and not for the Government, to supply a new religion in place of the old.

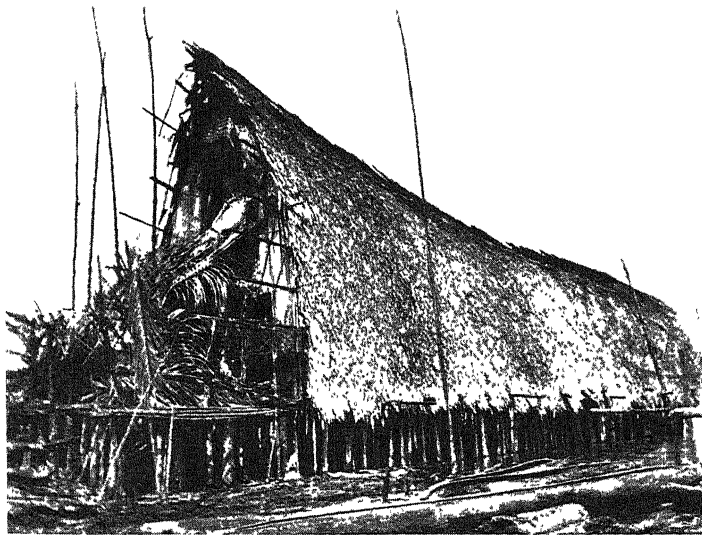
Intellectually the Papuan is not nearly so far inferior to ourselves as many people suppose him to be ; and in manners he is often our superior. " It is a common experience among travellers that many, if not all, savages are gentlemen." I am quoting from Dr. Haddon's Conway Memorial Lecture on " The Practical Value of Ethnology," and, if by the word " gentleman " is meant a man who has a regard for the feelings of others, I think that the statement is generally true of the Papuan. I do not for one moment agree with those who argue that in every case where there is a collision between black and white the latter is necessarily to blame ; I know from experience how very difficult it is to avoid conflict with strange natives, and how great the demand upon one's tact and patience, and I am well aware that natives are generally suspicious and sometimes treacherous. But for all that I think that they have the instincts of gentlemen. A savage may cause you considerable pain, and indeed he very often will if he gets the chance, but he will not knowingly and intentionally do anything to hurt your sensibilities ; but the white man is often so masterful, and, I may add, occasionally so utterly devoid of any idea of courtesy, that though he may spare the native's skin, he will frequently ride rough-shod over his feelings—for, he will unconsciously argue, a black man has no right to have any feelings at all.

I think that this is the attitude that we are many of us inclined to take up instinctively when we are first brought into contact with the coloured races, and I think further that a strong effort of will and reasoning power is necessary if we are to overcome it.

However, we must overcome it if we are to have anything to do with natives, and, if we cannot, then Papua is clearly no place for us. It has been said that there are two qualities in particular which assist a man in his relations with natives ; these are imagination and a sense of humour. I have not a sense of humour, which, in my opinion, is one of the rarest of gifts, for it implies a power to appreciate a joke at one's own expense, and consequently I feel rather diffident of saying anything about it ; but imagination is clearly necessary to even a partial comprehension of the native's position in the world. You will never understand him, nor will he ever give you his confidence, unless you can, to a certain extent, put yourself in his place.

Papua is full of people who "understand the native thoroughly" ; these are a very dangerous class, for they really believe what they say and are quite unconscious of their limitations. The capacity of "thinking black" or "brown" is in fact possessed by few, for this is an art which, it is said, "requires more sympathy and insight than is given to all men."¹ It is an art which is as valuable as it is rare, but the man who possesses it labours under a corresponding defect, for he is apt to attach an exaggerated importance to native culture and tradition, and, in fact, to everything native. I can sympathize with the feelings of those who regret the disappearance of old customs and religions, but really the people who affect a regard for all these matters of the old régime in Papua often idealize them out of all relation to reality. They do not understand how worthless much of the old life really is, and even what harm the lower form of this culture does in giving substance to those superstitious terrors which haunt the darker side of Papuan life.

¹ Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, p. 24.



RAVI IN NAMAU

Some native ideas are excellent, but others are bad ; in a country like Papua, apparently, they must all, or nearly all, go, sooner or later, but it is desirable that the good should remain until their place is taken by something which is equally good or better, and which will be more lasting. I will explain in the following chapters how we hope to bring this about in Papua, and how we expect great things from the assistance of the Christian Missions ; to refuse this assistance through obsession by some pet theory of native psychology, or an exaggerated estimate of the value of native culture, would be an administrative crime.

CHAPTER XIII.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

Value of Anthropology—Unity of Mankind—Widespread Idea that a Native is not really a Man—Direct and Indirect Methods of Administration—Instances—Anthropology only of Service where the Indirect Method is applied—Interdependence of Ideas among Savage Races—Result of Interdependence—Head-Hunting—Cannibalism—Collection of Skulls in Namau—Purchase of Land—Destruction of Sacred Tree—Case of the Policeman who was ordered to Shoot his Totem—Dr. Rivers' Instance of Rain-maker among the Nubas—Instance from Mr. Partridge's book, *Cross River Natives*—Meaning and Value of Name—Native Ignorance of the Meaning and Origin of Customs—Artificiality of Savage Life—Dr. Rivers in *Science and the Nation*—Talking Cassowary—Function of the Anthropologist combined with the Missionary—Effect of Destruction of Old Customs—Instance from Fiji—Abandonment of Men's House and Evil Effects on the Community—Impossible to maintain Native Customs indefinitely even when Desirable—Instance of the Kula—Of the Hiri at Port Moresby—Papuan Anthropological Department—Christianity will eventually take the place of the Old Beliefs—Importance of the Work done by Missions—Hostility to Missions probably merely a "Pose"—Truth of Christianity immaterial from an Administrative Point of View—Co-operation of Missionary and Anthropologist in Bridging the Gulf between the Stone Age and the Twentieth Century.

If we have to govern native races it follows that we should try to know something about them. Anthropology is the science that will give us this knowledge, and it would seem that this fact alone would make it obvious that some knowledge of anthropology is necessary to a successful native administration.

This seems clear enough, but, for some reason which I do not understand, the general idea seems to be that anthropology is nothing more than a fad, entirely useless for any purpose of practical administration, and to be tolerated only because its futility renders it harmless, and

because the individual anthropologists are usually very good fellows, in spite of the eccentric calling which they follow. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that this is the general opinion both in Australia and Papua, though I am glad to see that there is evidence that opinion in Australia is likely to change. At the Science Congress which was held in Melbourne in January 1921, and again at the Pan-Pacific Conference of 1923, I took the opportunity of advocating the establishment of a chair of Anthropology at one of the Australian Universities, as a duty which was practically forced upon us by the Australian Administration of Papua, and by the acceptance of the Mandate over German New Guinea. The matter was taken up by more influential persons than myself, and as a result I read that a Professorship is to be established at Sydney.

It must be understood that I am not an anthropologist myself, though I admire anthropology in others ; in fact I think that a Governor who was an anthropologist would probably make rather a mess of things—he would ride his hobby too fast and too far. It is only in the application of anthropology to administration that I take any real interest and that I express any definite opinion ; any remarks that I may make incidentally as to the purely scientific aspect of anthropology must be taken merely as *obiter dicta*.

The unity of mankind is, I suppose, the essential idea lying at the base both of anthropology and of the approved theory of native administration. Otherwise not only the science itself, but the very name of the science must go ; and, as regards administration, if the black man is indeed entirely different from the white, there seems to be no reason why he should not be used in an entirely different manner, and treated as one of the lower animals. Pro-

fessor Maitland has stated his belief, and apparently Dr. Rivers agrees with him, that "by and by anthropology will have the choice of being history and being nothing";¹ and the historic value of anthropology obviously depends upon the hypothesis that all mankind is more or less closely related, and that what is true of one people at one time and place may be equally true of another entirely different people at some other time and place.

To the practical man, the busy man of affairs who prides himself upon his common sense and his freedom from humbug, the argument from the unity of man must appear to be the merest academic trifling. He is probably prepared to accept that hypothesis as he accepts, for instance, the dogma of the Incarnation, as something which he will admit to be true, but only on condition that it is deprived of all substance and reality; and he would consider it as little less than an outrage if he were asked to draw from either of them an inference which could have the slightest effect upon the actions of his ordinary life. He would argue (if he condescended to argue at all) that whatever may have been the origin of mankind, however closely all men—black, white, yellow, and red—may be related if you go far enough back, still, as a matter of present fact, they are obviously distinct—in colour, in appearance, in habits, in ways of thought, and in most other particulars that can be enumerated. We should reply that it was true that there were differences, but that they were as naught compared with the fact of our common humanity; in other words, we should say that what is common to all men is not merely more important, but is infinitely more important, than the accidents by which men differ. To this, if he did not become speechless with rage at being compared with

¹ *History and Ethnology*, Rivers, p. 29.

an adjective nigger, he would retort by accusing us of a *petitio principii*, inasmuch as it is the importance of this common humanity which is in dispute.

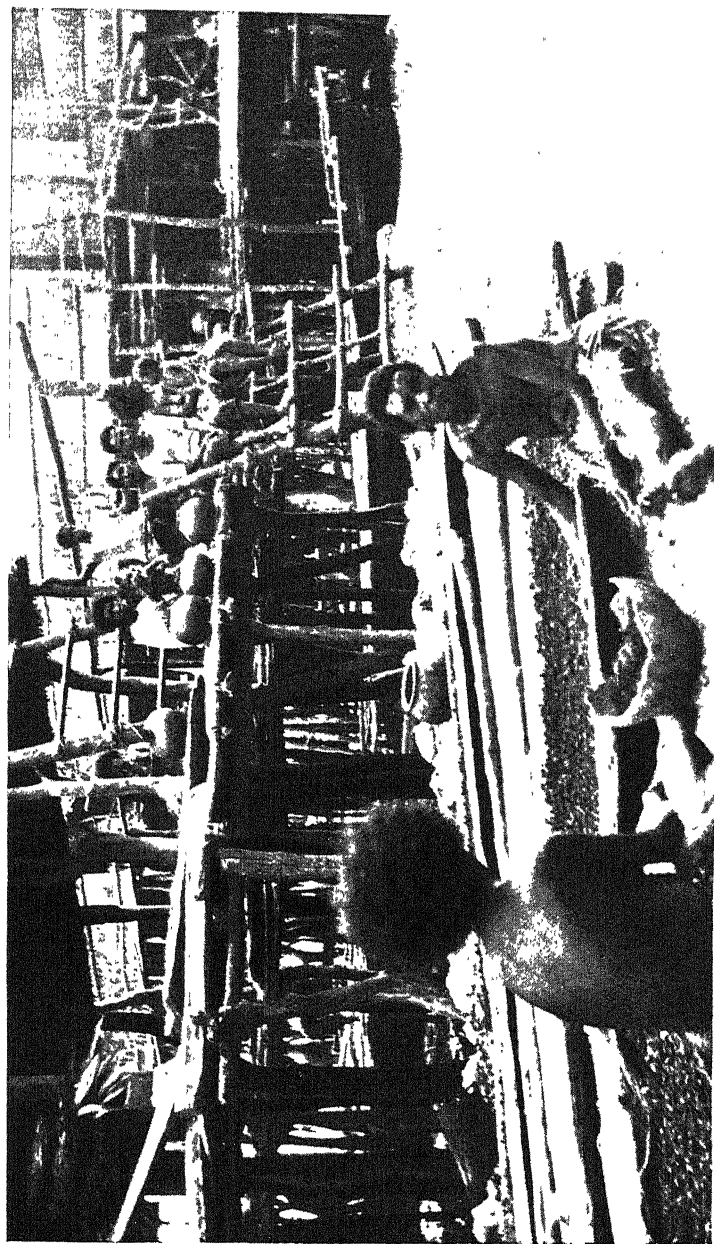
And so the controversy would continue, but it could lead to no result, for both parties are in the right ; the practical man is absolutely right in objecting most strenuously to anything in the nature of a doctrinaire administration, and we are right in insisting that administration should rest upon some solid basis of principle, not only in theory, but also in practice, and that in the case of British administration this principle is to be found in the unity of the human race.

Now, if we have a real, practical belief in this unity, we shall look on native races in an entirely different way ; we shall no longer see in them a bundle of inexplicable eccentricities and contradictions, and we shall no longer be prepared to dismiss them off-hand as “ half devil and half child.” We shall look upon them as men like ourselves, with similar passions, and probably with less self-restraint, with the same feelings of love and hate, and often the same respect for justice and contempt for injustice. I have read that, of the many wrongs which the natives of South-west Africa had suffered from the Germans, those which they resented most arose from the fact that the same justice was not meted out to white and black alike, but that what in the white man was a mere peccadillo, became in the black man a most heinous crime. It must, I fear, be admitted that, as a matter of administration, it is practically impossible to treat the white man and the native alike even in a court of justice, for local public opinion, or prejudice, or whatever you like to call it, will not permit such equality ; but an administrator who has a practical belief in the unity I have mentioned will, at any rate, insist upon as much

practical justice as he can get. He will not make the German mistake of denying it altogether.

The idea that a black or brown man is not really a man like ourselves is probably responsible for many of the worst outrages which have been committed, not only by white men upon black, but also by black upon white—and especially upon white women. In its most harmless form it is found disguised, in the shape of a theory that the native is a child and must be treated as a child. Of course, there is an analogy between a native and a child, but there are many false analogies, and, though this particular analogy does not lead to any very dreadful conclusions (since one does not, for instance, starve or torture a child), still it appears to me to be, logically, as false as any of them. When I have come across this analogy it has generally been used as a justification for corporal punishment ; the native is a child, it is argued, and when he offends he should be punished as a child—which, in effect, means that the native should be punished by a flogging administered without trial and at the caprice of the man against whom the offence, real or imaginary, was committed. On the other hand, if the native does something wrong, and asks to be forgiven as a child is forgiven, the analogy would probably be forgotten ; many sententious platitudes would be uttered about the necessity of setting an example and keeping the native in his place, but it is likely that the pardon would be withheld.

The truth, of course, is that the native is a man, and not a child ; he has a man's passions and a man's power to hate and love, but he is a very ignorant man, and he is a man whose customs and ways of thought are strange to us, even in the rare instances in which we try to understand them. And if we must use the method of analogy we



POT-MAKING, PORT MORESBY

should argue, not from the child, but from the peasant, for, to quote Dr. Marett, it is the peasant who "is the true middle term of the anthropological syllogism."¹

Now, there are two methods of governing these native races. One is to abolish all native customs and institutions of every kind and to introduce European customs and institutions in their place ; and the other is to try to conserve as long as possible such of these customs as appear to be useful or even harmless, and to make use of them, so far as may be, as an instrument of good government. These methods have been distinguished as the direct and the indirect method respectively ; the French, I believe, have favoured the former, and the British, as a rule, the latter. Of course, neither method is exclusive, and, equally, of course, their comparative merits have been the subject of controversy.

Perhaps the practical difference between these two methods can be best illustrated by actual instances, so I will give an instance of direct administration, taken from Miss Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*, and another of the indirect method from our own administration of Papua.

Miss Kingsley tells of a black man called Joseph, in the French Congo, who applied for a permit, or something of the sort, and was cross-examined by the French officials as to the name of his father. It appears that nobody on the West Coast reckons descent otherwise than through the mother, and Joseph did not know and had never had occasion to inquire into the identity of his father—if he did know who he was he would take no interest in him, for each would regard the other as a stranger. And the point of Miss Kingsley's story is the insistence with which the

¹ *Psychology and Folklore*, p. 19, and see Lord Olivier, *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, p. 151.

French regulations, made for a different race with different rules of descent, were applied to a people to whom paternal descent was unknown.¹

This I consider to be an extreme instance of the direct method ; and the other, which I take from Papua, is perhaps an extreme instance of the indirect. It occurred when the smallpox scare arose, some ten or twelve years ago.

It was necessary to have the natives vaccinated, and it was highly desirable, for many reasons, that it should be done with their consent. At the same time our natives have usually a great horror of the knife or anything which suggests it, and further, it was to be expected that, even though the first few might submit willingly enough, the pain and sickness which normally ensue on vaccination would make the process vastly unpopular with the remainder. We wanted, therefore, to put some view before them which would give an adequate explanation of the reason for vaccination, and which would also recommend it to their favourable consideration. So we told them that there was a very dangerous and powerful sorcerer in the west—that was the quarter from which the smallpox was expected—and that this sorcerer had conjured up a very bad sickness which might come along at any moment. But, though the sorcerer was strong, the Government was stronger, and would protect all who claimed its protection. A mark would be put on the arm of all those who trusted themselves to the Government ; the sorcerer when he came would see the Government mark, would realize that he was powerless, and would retire foiled and baffled to his home in the west. But for those who would not receive the mark the Government could, of course, do nothing.

¹ *Vide* Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. I, p. 263.

I have called this an extreme instance of the indirect method, because we worked through the natives' belief in sorcery, which, as a matter of fact, we are doing our best to extirpate ; but I still think that we were right, for we were really doing no more than translate the theory of vaccination into a language that a Stone Age savage could understand. Anyhow, whether we were right or wrong, we were successful beyond our wildest dreams—the "Government mark" became hugely popular, not only medically, but socially, and to be without the mark was to confess oneself the veriest outsider. Fortunately, the sorcerer of the west did not come ; but if he had come we were ready for him.

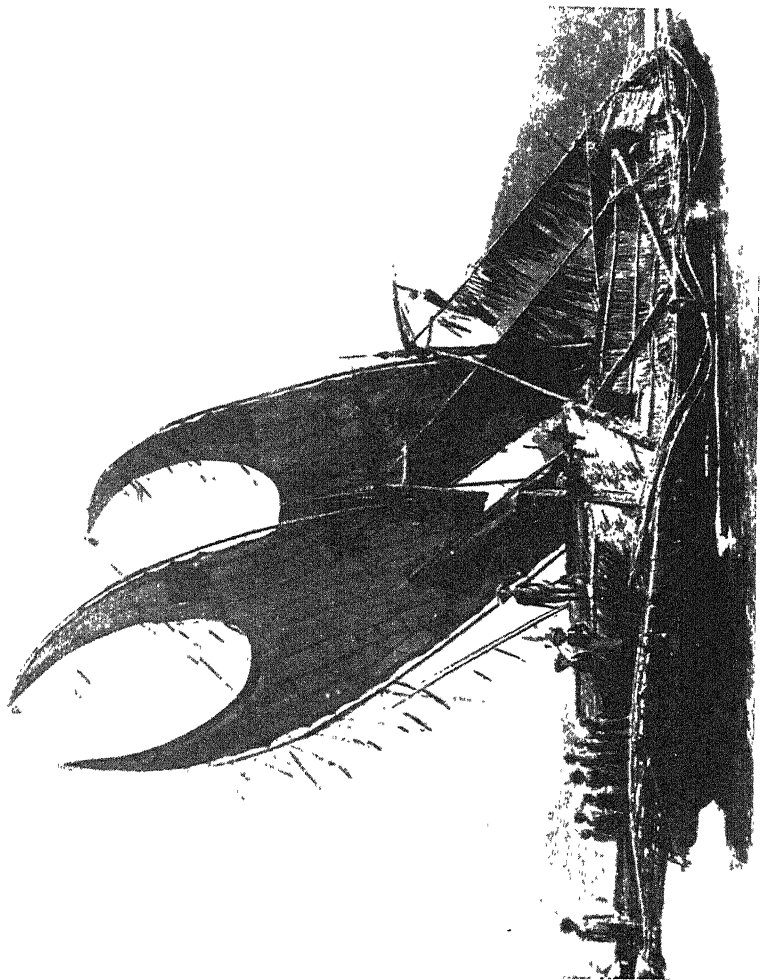
I admit that I have purposely chosen instances in which the direct method appears rather at a disadvantage, but it is probable that the other—that is, the British, or indirect method—really is the better way of dealing with natives, if only for the reason that it is less "cast iron," and is more capable of adjustment to meet the circumstances of any individual case.

Clearly, if you are going to abolish native customs altogether, it is of no practical value to try to understand them ; and consequently, anthropological study is of little value where the direct method has been adopted. Where the other, or British, policy is followed it may, in my opinion, be of the very greatest assistance, since, obviously, you cannot decide which customs you should try to preserve, and which you should abolish, unless you are in a position to form some idea of what customs there are, what is their real nature, and how far they extend.

This seems to be a truism, but it is a strange thing that, though I have read, I suppose, without exaggeration, scores of criticisms, mostly very hostile, of my adminis-

tration in Papua, I have never, I think, seen one that betrayed the slightest consciousness even of the existence of such a problem as I have indicated.

In dealing with native customs it must be remembered that, among savage races, the different departments of thought and action are not clearly distinguished as with us ; even among ourselves the interdependence of ideas is greater than appears on the surface, but we do keep our ideas and our customs in more or less water-tight compartments, and we can change one set of opinions without altering others—for instance, we can change our politics without changing our religion, while a savage cannot do anything of the kind. His ideas are, as is to be expected, less highly specialized—they are all interwoven and jumbled up together—so that, in suppressing a practice which seems to you simply silly and useless, you are at the same time perhaps affecting a dozen other practices which may be in many ways desirable. Of course, there are some things that must be suppressed, whatever the result may be—as, for instance, head-hunting. This is a custom which the most sympathetic administrator could not be expected to preserve, however great his devotion to the science of anthropology, though in its suppression he will probably influence all sorts of other things of which he knows nothing. In such a case as this, he must take the risk, and perhaps the best thing he can do is to induce the head-hunters to make use of a pig's head, or to persuade them, as I think has been done in Borneo, to put up with old heads and to make-believe that they are new. So with cannibalism. You can get them to give up the practice without so much difficulty as one might imagine. Savages are snobs like the rest of us, and if you appeal to their snobbery you can get



MOTUAN LATAKOI

them to do a great deal. So, if you can get it into their heads that cannibalism is not good form, and is rather looked down upon by the "nicest" people of Papua, and that a cannibal can hardly be received in the best villages, they will give it up quickly enough. At least, that was our experience in the country of Namau, in the Purari Delta ; they gave up cannibalism and, so far as we could see, substituted a pig for the human body.

The people of Namau were also head-hunters as well as cannibals (the two do not always go together), and their ravi, or large men's houses, were festooned with innumerable skulls ; and the removal of these skulls was necessary to the eventual suppression of head-hunting. Not all these skulls were the skulls of enemies—many were the skulls of friends and relations ; but all had to go, so that in putting down a crime we were also suppressing a quite unobjectionable funeral rite. Fortunately, no harm appears to have resulted ; and, in any case, head-hunting must stop.

Particularly in buying land from natives it is necessary to have at least some rudimentary knowledge of native custom. The practical man, who will stand no nonsense, probably solves this difficulty, and, *more suo*, creates a hundred others, by simply declaring all native-owned land to be Crown land ; but, if we have any regard for the traditions of British justice, we shall probably try, whatever the precise details of our land policy may be, to inflict as little hardship as possible upon the native owners, and to do this we must have some general idea of the form of land tenure in different parts of the Territory.

It would be easy to give individual instances where ignorance or neglect of native customs has caused unnecessary, and sometimes rather serious, trouble. A friend of mine—a humane man, and one who had exceptional con-

sideration for natives—told me that he was once besieged for several days by a horde of cannibals whom he had offended because in his clearing operations he had unwittingly destroyed a sacred tree ; he was the last man in the world to destroy anything that anyone considered sacred, but there was nothing to distinguish this tree from others, and it had simply gone with the rest. Less serious in its results was the rather thoughtless action of a Government officer who told a policeman to shoot some birds to make soup for a sick colleague. The birds (they were black cockatoos, if I remember aright) were the totem of the policeman, and he might not take their life. The position was a difficult one ; discipline won the victory, but the poor fellow cried all night.

There must be innumerable ways in which even the most careful man offends native feelings, and I am afraid that the ordinary white man is not particularly careful in this regard. And there are really most unexpected pitfalls, into some of which we all of us, I suppose, occasionally fall. For example, in the old days in the Purari Delta the removal of a figure might bring sickness on a community, to touch a drum might mean death, and yet they looked just like the other figures or drums which might be touched or removed with impunity.

A better instance than any of these is that given in a book called *Science and the Nation*, edited by the Master of Downing College, Cambridge. The last chapter of this book is called “ The Government of Subject Peoples ” ; it is written by Dr. Rivers, and the instance to which I have referred is given to illustrate what the author calls “ the religious or magical aspects of chieftainship.”

“ Among the Nubas of Southern Kordofan ” (says Dr. Rivers) “ the chief is also the rain-maker, and it is believed that his rain-

making powers will come to an end if he leaves the hill upon which he and his people dwell. Formerly, when an official wished to deal with a community of the Nubas, he camped at the foot of their hill and sent for the chief, thus forcing the people to choose between disobedience to their foreign rulers and the loss of supernatural powers which they believe to be essential to their welfare. Placed in such a dilemma, it is not surprising that they have preferred to offend the temporal powers, thus bringing immediate disaster on themselves and serious trouble and expense to their rulers. With knowledge of the fact that the chief is a rain-maker who must not leave his hill, it would have been easy for the official either to visit the hill himself or use some other intermediary."

Many other instances are given by Dr. Rivers¹ and by Dr. Haddon.² Both these writers mention the evil effects which followed in Fiji upon an attempt to force the customs of English family life upon a community which was not organized to receive them, and Dr. Haddon cites from Mr. Partridge's book, *Cross River Natives*, the case of a tree which was apparently impeding the course of a boat and which the crew were therefore about to cut down. Luckily Mr. Partridge noticed a sudden excitement among the natives who were watching from the bank of the river and ordered his men to desist. The natives then came and helped them out of their difficulty. It appeared that this was a sacred tree and was regarded as the "Life" of the community, and that anyone breaking a twig would have been sold into slavery or would have to pay a fine. The community in question were notorious for their raids on passing canoes and for their general lawlessness, but "the protection of their sacred tree won their confidence, and during the next six months any of Mr. Partridge's belongings that were found by the natives were restored to him."³

¹ *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, Ch. VIII.

² "The Practical Value of Ethnology," Conway Memorial Lecture, 1921.

³ Conway Memorial Lecture, 1921, p. 33.

Now it is obviously impossible for anyone to know all the sacred trees, all the drums that may not be beaten, and all the old men who must not come down from a hill :¹ the most that one can hope for is to gain a general idea of when one is likely to be treading on dangerous ground. For instance, anything connected with religion is very dangerous indeed, and it is practically a universal rule that anything to do with a name is ticklish work. "A name," as Mr. Hartland says, "is an essential part of its owner. It is much more than a mere label ; it is looked upon as having a real objective existence. The knowledge of the name gives power over the person or thing designated."² Often the man will not give his own name, or the name of certain of his relations ; but sometimes, like the man who shot the black cockatoo, he finds himself placed in a position from which there is no escape, as, for instance, when a man joins the police and has to give his name for entry on his record of service. In such a case he sometimes adopts the subterfuge of getting another man to give his name for him.

It has been said that the study of anthropology induces a belief that there was a time when the whole of mankind was mad, and certainly many of the native customs which one finds in Papua are hard to reconcile with any degree of sanity. Yet the people who practise these customs are, in fact, quite sane. They go about their business in the ordinary way, they make their gardens, build their houses, and look after their children, just like anyone else ; and the point which I think we ought to realize more clearly than we generally do is that it is our duty to find out, as far

¹ See the difficulties which Mr. Holmes met with at Urika, *In Primitive Papua*, p. 145.

² *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. I, p. 223.

as we can, the motive for these mad customs. For, unless we do, we can never understand the inner life of the people who practise them, and our progress in raising these people to a higher and more wholesome ideal will be all the slower. The customs may die out in time, as native customs do, but the mode of thought, or mentality, or whatever you like to call it, of which the custom was a symptom, may remain, and we can hardly take effective steps to modify that mode of thought unless we know what it really is.

Occasionally the custom seems to be merely grotesque and to be incapable of any serious motive or meaning. I say "seems" advisedly, because all these queer practices must have had some motive at some time or other; though the motive may not be of the kind which we should call rational, and may rather be connected with the processes which originate from what, it appears, is called by psychologists the "collective unconscious," and which, to quote Dr. Marett once more, "seems to set the logic of purposive life at defiance"¹ Hence it comes that in many cases the motive is not, and perhaps never has been, clearly understood; natives tell you that they do these things because their grandfathers did them, and leave it at that.

It may be that in some cases they know more than they admit, and that the reason that they disclaim all knowledge is that they do not like, any more than we do, to discuss the mysteries of their religion with unsympathetic strangers, of atrocious manners, who will probably laugh at them. But as a rule I think that they really do not know. And it is, perhaps, not merely that the tradition has been forgotten: it is quite probable that in some cases the ancestors by whom the cult or custom was originated could not explain it either, for I suppose it could rarely, if ever, have origi-

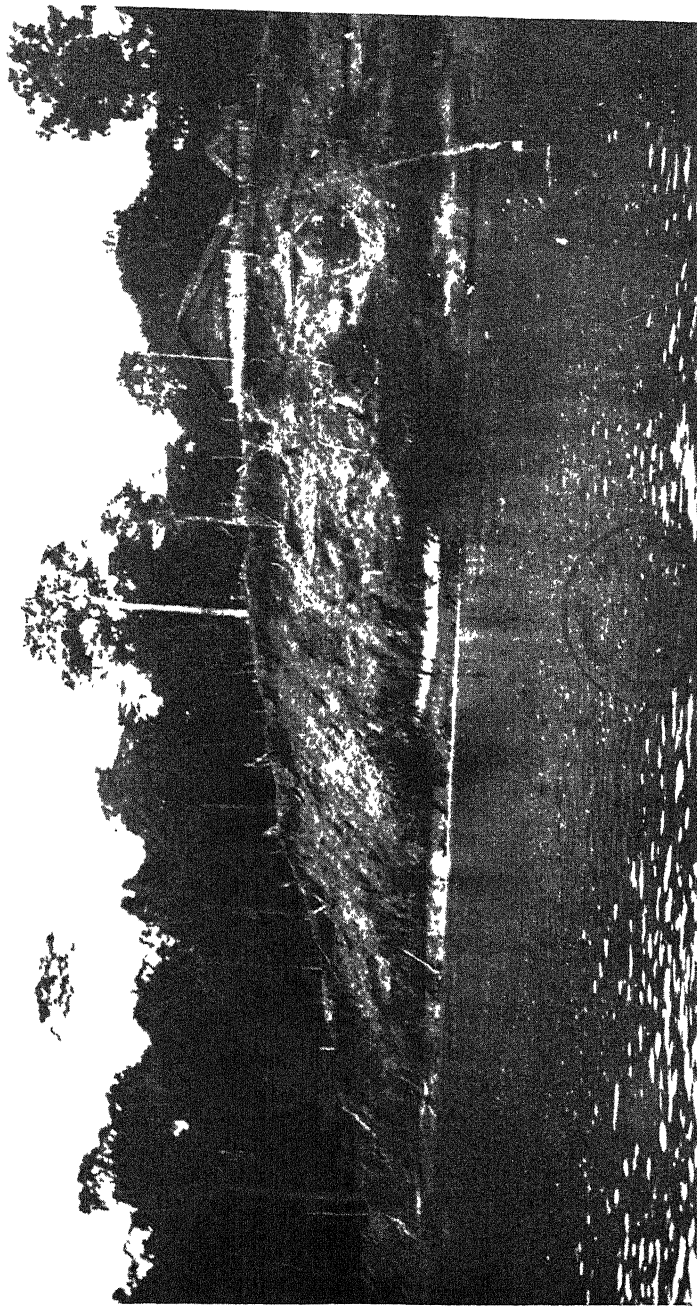
¹ Marett, *Psychology and Folklore*, p. 127.

nated in anything like the clear-cut expression of a definite idea. As Mr. James points out in his *Primitive Ritual and Belief*,¹ the primitive mind is incapable of grasping the abstract thought to any appreciable extent; the savage is a ceremonialist, not a dogmatic theologian. Religion to him is a matter of practice, not of theory—a thing, in other words, to live out rather than to think out; and it may be that in many cases the ritual came first and that the interpretation, where there is one, came afterwards.

Now, it may be argued that, by this admission, I am giving away the whole of my case. If the native does not know why a man must be killed when a house is built or a canoe is launched, if he does not know why the old man must not come down from the hill, or why the drum must not be beaten, it may be contended that these practices or prohibitions must remain only as isolated facts in his life, which can be removed without influencing in any way the remainder of his scheme of existence. But, in fact, one does not find that this is so in the case of a savage, though it may be true enough of civilized man. Savage life is intensely artificial, it is pervaded throughout by conventions of every kind; and though none of those who are bound by these conventions know anything of their origin, any more than we know the origin of the conventions which bind us, still, experience shows that they are so inextricably bound together that the removal of one apparently isolated custom may shake the whole foundation. For, to quote Dr. Rivers again in *Science and the Nation* :

“We know that the disintegrating influence of European settlements becomes the greater the lower we go in the scale of culture, and it is largely through the greater interdependence of the different aspects of social life that this effect is produced.”

¹ Pp. 5, 224.



POLICE CAMP ON THE ALICE (UPPER FLY RIVER)

Dr. Rivers then mentions the instance of head-hunting, and continues :

“ Similarly, one who abolishes secret societies because he holds them to be ‘ hotbeds of superstition ’ will produce effects he had never anticipated if, as is often the case, these societies provide the basis of the whole economic system of the people and embody religious practices of the utmost importance to their material and moral welfare.” ¹

It is, of course, easy to enumerate the strange customs that one has met with, but it is rarely that one can understand them and modify them in such a way as to make them fit in with what has been called the “ European epoch of the human mind ” : though it seems clear that this line of investigation must in future play a very important part in the government of native races, however much it may have been neglected in the past. The difficulties, however, are very great. My experience in Papua is that if a native gives you a reason for any custom or belief it is quite possible that he has just made it up, and that, in fact, he does not know, but does not like to admit his ignorance ; and, consequently, you find yourself reduced to conjecture, which can only be verified and checked by enormous patience and industry.

It is so difficult too, sometimes, to know what a native means. When a witness gives you, for instance, an account of a conversation which he has had with a cassowary in the bush, and adds that he has always found a cassowary to tell the truth, it is really quite impossible to know what he means. One may say that he is mad, but the man I am thinking of most certainly was not mad ; or you may say that his concept of personality is fluid,² and that he thinks

¹ And see *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, Ch. VIII.

² *Vide* Hartland's *Ritual and Belief*, p. 30.

that a man can change into a cassowary and a cassowary into a man without much difficulty. But, as a matter of fact, he does not think anything of the sort, and if he saw a man turn into a cassowary he would be just as amazed as anyone else.

Probably the man in question knew perfectly well that he had never had a conversation with a cassowary at all, and perhaps he never imagined that I would be foolish enough to think that he really meant that he had. He may have meant something quite different, but I do not know what it was.

What I have said is I think sufficient to show that there is plenty of scope for anthropology in native administration, and that there are numerous incidents arising from time to time in which a knowledge of anthropology would be of great practical use. But personally I ask far more from it than this ; I should certainly not think that I was justified in spending much of the scanty resources of Papua in collecting stories about sacred trees and the like, or even in gathering information which would be of a scientific interest but would have no administrative value. I expect from the anthropologist, working with the missionary, no less a result than the bridging of the gulf which separates the Stone Age from the twentieth century, and the passage of which has cost so much suffering to primitive races.

If we succeed in this, if we can bring the Papuan safely across, we shall have saved him from the worst of those evils that have caused the depopulation of the islands of Melanesia. For this is what Dr. Rivers says—and it must be remembered that he had lived in Melanesia and had studied these problems on the spot :

“The point I wish to emphasize is that through this unintelligent and indiscriminating action towards native institutions, the people

were deprived of nearly all that gave interest to their lives. I have now to suggest that this loss of interest forms one of the reasons, if indeed it be not the most potent of all reasons, to which native decadence is due."

Of course this point is by no means new to those who have been connected with native administration ; I wrote about it myself twelve or thirteen years ago, and it was not new then, except perhaps to the general public, who, I think, only became interested in these matters through the writings of Dr. Rivers and others. Administrators always realized that the danger point is the sudden passage from one tradition into another—from prehistoric antiquity into modern times ; and all, I think, saw that it would be an enormous assistance if the customs of the one age could be so dovetailed into the other as to afford a means of crossing the gulf in safety. I can illustrate what I mean by a reference to an instance which I have already given—that is the case, quoted by Dr. Haddon from Basil Thompson, of the premature introduction of English family life into Fiji. It appears that in Fiji there was a large house set apart wholly for the men of the village ; at puberty the young men left their parents' homes and slept in this house under the eyes of their elders. When a child was born the father had to live entirely in the men's house, during the lactation period of two or three years.

The white residents, in their superior way, ridiculed these customs, which were well suited to Fijian life, and by degrees the men's house was deserted except by the old men, and the youths went back to sleep in their parents' home, where the girls slept also ; and, as Dr. Haddon says, " association of the sexes and emancipation from parental control did the rest."

Now here there was obviously no attempt to dovetail

one set of customs into the other, no pretence even at making the transition gradual and easy ; the native customs were abandoned and the foreign custom introduced without any modification, and the results, we are told, were entirely bad.

An anthropologist would probably have opposed the alteration altogether. In this particular instance he might be right, but it is just at this point that I, with very great deference to the science of anthropology, think that anthropologists are inclined to go wrong, and that an anthropological Governor might become a menace. The anthropologist is rather inclined, in the intense interest which he takes in the old customs and traditions, to persuade himself that all change is evil ; and that these customs and traditions, in so far of course as they are not clearly savage and barbaric, can and should be preserved indefinitely. I can understand, and to a certain extent admire, this position, which is suggested to him by a generous sympathy with the weaker race, but what he asks is quite impossible.

It must be remembered that many native customs are cruel and revolting in the extreme and should certainly not be preserved for a day ; but even taking the best of them, those which are deserving of encouragement, and which one would like to see maintained, it is quite certain that most of them too must go, in time, as the result of European influence. It is quite useless to try to bolster them up. Take, for instance, the institution of the Kula, on which Dr. Malinowski has recently written such a delightful and valuable book.¹ The Kula is a trading enterprise conducted under strict rules and along a definite route ; it is full of anthropological interest, and it is socially valuable, even according to our ideas, for it teaches social discipline and

¹ *The Argonauts of the Pacific* (Routledge, 1922).

skill in seamanship. But it will be superseded by modern methods as surely as the mail coach was superseded by the railway, and no Government, however sympathetic, can possibly keep it alive indefinitely.

Personally I do not think it a good thing that even the Kula should be kept alive for ever ; though I am sorry to learn from Dr. Malinowski's book that it is dying out so fast. My own impression was that the institution was lasting well. We have a similar trading enterprise at Port Moresby, which consists in taking pots to the Gulf of Papua and bringing back sago : it is known as Hiri and has often been described. The Hiri still continues with its familiar Lakatoi, so well known to all collectors of Papuan stamps, and I hope that it will continue for a long time. But it will die out one day, and I do not think that it will really matter very much, except on the grounds of sentiment ; for the villages which man the Lakatoi are now sufficiently used to our civilization, and are quite accustomed to our style of boats and our ideas of commerce. In this instance the two traditions have been " dovetailed " and the passage has been made in safety.

I say that it is just as well that these institutions should die out eventually, and the reason I think so is that our methods generally are vastly superior ; but there are other customs which we should perhaps like to see remain, but most of which must inevitably yield to European influence. The influence is often exercised unconsciously. A white man who does not in any way interfere with village life will still have an influence ; and the influence will always act towards the dissolution of native custom.

Our small anthropological department, consisting of a Government anthropologist and an assistant anthropologist, has been in existence for four or five years. An attempt

was made to establish the department in 1915, but it was discovered that all the anthropologists had gone to the war and were actively engaged on the various fronts ; and it was not until after hostilities were ended that we found a very promising anthropologist, Mr. Armstrong of Cambridge, who had been very badly wounded, but who accepted the position of assistant, and with great pluck and ability carried out the duties for about two years. Mr. Armstrong's investigations were chiefly in the east and south-east, and he is the author of a very remarkable study of the natives of Rossel Island. He was succeeded by Mr. Williams of Balliol College, a Rhodes scholar from Adelaide, and also a returned soldier. Mr. Williams has investigated an outburst of hysteria which has prevailed in the Gulf of Papua and is known as the "Vailala madness." Much of his work on the "Vailala madness" is of interest in connection with the question whether it is possible to preserve the old customs and ceremonies, which, in the Gulf, seem to be dying out before there is anything to take their place.¹

Of course what will take their place eventually, both in the Gulf and elsewhere in Papua, is some form of Christianity, and that for the simple reason that the natives, like other men, must have something in the nature of religion, and that there is nothing else that we can give them. I am speaking of course as an administrator with no concern for the truth of Christianity, but only for its social and moral effects. And it is here that the influence of the Missions is important—so important indeed, in my opinion, as to be absolutely indispensable ; for it is the missionary who must attend to the teaching of Christianity, and see that Christianity does effectively take the place of the old ideas of religion which have gone or are going for ever.

¹ Recent magisterial reports show that these old customs are being revived.

It is argued sometimes that Christianity is too advanced a religion for the Papuan, and that in asking him to become a Christian we are "speeding up" evolution, and so courting disaster; and amateur theologians point out that Christianity itself is the result of evolution, and was apparently not considered suitable for the childhood of the world. I am not a theologian, and have, I fear, no appreciation of theological argument, but it is common knowledge that Christianity has in fact been introduced among primitive races very many times already, apparently with satisfactory results. And it should be remembered, firstly, that the old so-called religion of the Papuan must inevitably go—it is mere self-deception to suppose that it can be kept alive, even if such a thing were desirable; secondly, that something must be put in its place, otherwise the religious development of the Papuan comes to a dead end in nothing at all, which surely is an evolutionary catastrophe far worse than any "speeding up"; and, thirdly, that the only thing we have to put in its place is Christianity.

Thirteen years ago I called attention to the inevitable disappearance of old customs and beliefs in Papua, and I went on to say "unless the missionary is there to help him the native is left like a ship without a rudder, and will run a great risk of being wrecked in the sea of an alien civilization." I was comparatively new to native administration then, but further consideration has only confirmed me in my views. I think that every one who has had any experience of administration takes very much the same view that I do of the subject of Missions; but it is a strange fact that many residents, both in Papua and in other tropical countries, seem to be not only hostile to Missions, but even scornful of them and of everything connected with them. I say they "seem" to be hostile, because one can only

go by what they say, and what they say is possibly in some instances merely the expression of an attitude which they have assumed, in order to appear in the rôle of a "superior person," with a proper contempt for revealed religion. It has perhaps rarely any relation to their considered opinion.

An argument which is commonly urged against Missions, and by which I confess I have never been impressed, is that it is ridiculous to ask a Papuan native to believe, for instance, in the doctrine of Trinity, because he cannot understand it. To this the missionary might readily reply that this doctrine is no doubt just as great a mystery to a Papuan as it is to a European, and that, if the comprehension of this mystery had been a condition precedent to conversion, there would never have been any converts at all, and Christianity would have died in its infancy.

But, whatever the missionary's answer might be, a broad distinction must be drawn between the two questions—whether Christianity is in fact true, and whether Christian Missions have a good effect upon primitive races. The administration has nothing to do with the first of these questions, and is interested in the second only. But it seems to me that many people confuse the two, and, in their objection to theological dogma, allow themselves to underrate the enormous moral and social force of Christianity, and, consequently, fail to appreciate the effect of Christian Missions among native races. And I am glad to see that Dr. Rivers agrees with the opinion which British administrators have always held. "Experience," he says, "has amply shown that Christianity is capable of giving the people an interest in life which can take the place of that due to their indigenous religion."¹

¹ *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, p. 111.

Now, practically, what the administration asks from the missionary is complementary to what it asks from the anthropologist. The anthropologist learns, as far as he can, the inner life of the people he is studying, and the nature of their outlook upon the world ; he will then investigate how far and in what way their life has been affected by contact with European civilization, what customs are falling into disuse, and whether it is possible and desirable to maintain them and keep them in existence. The Government can do little by direct administrative action, but it can sometimes delay the disappearance of some custom which has a real social value ; or at any rate it can avoid doing anything that will hasten its departure. Thus the anthropologist assists us to preserve all that is best in the old native life and to keep it in existence for as long a time as possible ; and the missionary gives, in Christianity, a new interest in life which will take the place of the old system which must, eventually, almost inevitably fall into decay.

Christianity, with its triumphant record of nearly twenty centuries, is surely big enough to fill the place of the uncouth ritual and barbarous superstition which has hitherto done duty as religion among the natives of Papua, and it is the duty of the missionary to ensure that it does fill this place completely. This is what I mean when I say that the work of the missionary is complementary to that of the anthropologist ; for the two should co-operate to the same end. The practical difficulty will be to get them to work in harmony, but this difficulty should not be insuperable.

Such is the service which we expect from the missionary and the anthropologist, and if they give this service they will have deserved well of Australia and well of the Papuan. It may be that we expect too much, but I do not think so ;

it is a tradition in Papua that Government and Mission should work together, and I feel sure that the tradition will continue. Partly by reason of this tradition, and partly because we have been exceptionally fortunate as regards the *personnel* of the missionaries who have been stationed in Papua, the Territory has been entirely free from those Mission disputes and quarrels which seem to cause trouble elsewhere, and I am certain that all will work together in assisting the native to adapt himself to his new surroundings.

Of course I am aware of the almost universal prejudice which exists against Christian natives : they are thieves, it is said, and liars. Personally I have never found anything to justify the prejudice, but it is so general, in various parts of the world, that there may be some foundation for it. I can only explain the moral turpitude of Christian natives (if it be a fact) by supposing it to be one of the evil results of the transition period ; I cannot think that it is one of the normal effects of Christianity to encourage untruthfulness or dishonesty among its adherents. On the other side of the account we must in justice enter the fact that both boys and girls are cleaner, healthier, better fed, and better mannered at the Mission stations than anywhere else in Papua ; and further, though I have no statistics to guide me, I think that the number of Christian natives appearing before the Central Court on a criminal charge is very small indeed. Unprejudiced opinion must admit the great benefits bestowed upon the natives of Papua by Missions operating in the Territory ; if individual recipients have not always made the best use of these benefits it is a fact which may be deplored, but which has but little effect upon the general advancement of the race.

As regards the Department of Anthropology the great

danger before it is that it may forget the practical purposes of administration for which it was established, and be finally lost in the wilderness of scientific investigation. If so it will have failed us ; but if it escapes this danger it may accomplish great things.

CHAPTER XIV.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION (*continued*).

Duty to Native hard to define—Pacification of the Territory—Encouragement of Habits of Industry—Preservation of the Native Population—Good and Evil Effects of Civilization—Population probably slightly increasing as a Whole—Imported Disease—Drink and Opium—European Clothes—Destruction of Native Customs and Institutions—Alarming Decrease in some Parts balanced by Increase in others—Original Estimates of Population always too high—Rash to Dogmatize without an Accurate Census—Some Tribes must disappear—Effect of Tribal War in reducing Population—Uncertain whether Population was increasing or decreasing when Europeans first arrived—Birth Control—Population decreasing rapidly in the East, but increasing at Port Moresby—Probability of Eventual Adjustment—Necessity of investigating the Facts in Each Case—Various and Contradictory Theories—Proportion of Children under Sixteen as compared with Australia—System of Native Taxation—Indentured Labourers not Exempt—Tax paid to a separate Account—Expenditure of Money raised by Tax—"Baby Bonus"—Manual Labour as a substitute for Tribal Warfare—Labour in the Service of Europeans—Labour for the Natives' own Benefit—Native Plantations—Importance of Native Agriculture—Amusements—Dancing—Native Education—Technical Education—Subsidy to Missions—Precedent of Crown Colonies—Natural Skill of Papuan—Is the Native overworked?

ADMITTEDLY we have a special duty towards the native population, and are trustees for their general welfare; but it is not quite clear what the precise terms of the trust may be, nor in what the duty actually consists. Obviously the duty will include that which the Government owes to other residents, but it will also include something more, for the ignorance of the natives and their weakness, and the backwardness of their civilization, gives them a claim upon us which we should probably not recognize in the case of our own nationals.

Roughly, I suppose we may say that at any rate we are

under these obligations—(i) to pacify the Territory, to establish law and order to such an extent, at any rate, that men may go about their business by day, and sleep quietly at night, without danger of attack ; (ii) to prevent the spread of disease, and particularly of imported disease, and generally to preserve the native population ; and (iii) to encourage that population in habits of industry, so as to avoid the effects of what I have called “ the material disturbance ” caused by the white man’s arrival among them.

I have already dealt with the first of these duties, that is the pacification of the Territory ; it is not yet complete, but a great deal has been done of late, especially in the last few years. The work is commonly carried out without bloodshed, even among the fiercest tribes. The patience, pluck and determination displayed by officers in carrying out this task have never been fully appreciated.

The other two duties—the preservation of the native population, and the encouragement among them of habits of industry—are both closely connected with the matters I have dealt with in the previous chapter, and overlap to such an extent that they are best considered together.

I have spoken of the “ disturbances ” which are caused in native life by the introduction of modern civilization, but I do not mean to suggest that the effects of civilization are necessarily evil. On the contrary many of them are obviously good. That cannibalism, head-hunting and bloodshed generally are evils can only be denied by one who deliberately chooses to pose as an original, and their suppression, whatever amount of boredom may be thereby caused to the younger men, is obviously so much to the good. So, improvement in the sanitation of native villages, and the medical treatment of existing diseases, as for instance

yaws and hookworm, must be regarded as benefits ; and greatest of all, in my opinion, is the opportunity for a broader life which the clash of ideas and the greater freedom of movement brings into the hopelessly narrow life of the Stone Age savage.

The opportunity for good brings with it necessarily the opportunity for evil, and there is no doubt that many a native would have lived a manlier, more honest and better life if the white man had never come to Papua ; still, the opportunity is a good thing, though many fail to profit by it. So the greater freedom of movement and improved facility of transport is productive of great good in many ways, but it also is the cause of evil, for it facilitates the spread of epidemics which might otherwise be localized.

It has, I believe, been usual in the Pacific to find that the population diminishes at the first contact with Europeans and increases again afterwards, when relations between the races have been adjusted. This has been the case in some instances in Papua ; the danger, of course, is that the people may die out altogether, before the necessary adjustment has been made. It seems to me hardly likely, in the absence of some overwhelming catastrophe, that a native race can disappear altogether from a territory as large as Papua, and under existing circumstances we may dismiss such a contingency from our minds altogether. And though it is really impossible to judge of the movement of population without accurate statistics extending over a number of years, I think that, so far as we have information, we are justified in coming to the conclusion that the population, as a whole, is not diminishing, and is perhaps slightly increasing.

Many of the ordinary effects of white settlement are such as would be likely to cause an increase in population,

as for instance the establishment of peace in the place of tribal warfare, the suppression of sorcery, the restriction of drought and famine areas, and medical and sanitary reform ; but there are others which are calculated to have the very opposite effect.

Among the most obviously evil of civilization's gifts are, I suppose, disease, drink and drugs, especially opium. The use of drink and opium by natives is absolutely forbidden in Papua, and the prohibition is strictly enforced.

The danger from new diseases is more difficult to guard against. Some can be excluded by a careful system of quarantine, and in Papua we have, so far, been successful in keeping smallpox and plague out of the country, though we failed with influenza, and paid the price of some 2,000 deaths. But, in the case of venereal diseases, for instance, quarantine is impracticable, and the only thing to be done is to minimize the effect of the disease when it has made its entrance, as it surely will.

These particular diseases are a constant source of danger, but we have kept them fairly under control by the periodical examination of native villages, and the arrest and compulsory treatment of those who are found to be infected. By degrees these rather stringent methods will become unnecessary, for natives are beginning to recognize the advantage of medical treatment, and are coming in voluntarily.

Then there are the diseases which are caused and spread by the use of European clothes. Of this practice it has been said : " Of all evil customs introduced by civilization the wearing of clothes is probably the greatest." Such is the opinion of the Rev. W. J. Durrad,¹ and most people who have studied the question will agree that the practice has

¹ *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, p. 7.

been a fertile source of sickness and death. The East Africa Protectorate Labour Commission, 1912-13, seems to have been in favour of natives wearing clothes, but would not compel them to do so ; and I think that clothing has a value in a certain way. I think that it may be used to foster a sense of dignity in a native. A native should not wear European clothes without a permit from the Government, and a permit to wear clothes should be regarded as evidence that the Government considers the bearer to be a man of prudence and intelligence beyond the ordinary run of his fellows.

I have seen a statement by Sir Harry Johnston that, in Africa, the wearing of European clothing has proved a protection against certain diseases which are conveyed by ticks and other insects, but the practice has little to recommend it in Papua, and consequently natives have been forbidden for some years past (except in certain instances) to have clothing on the upper part of the body. But, on the principle I have already indicated, a Magistrate may grant a permit to wear clothes in a proper case.¹

However, evil as are the results of disease, drink, European clothing, and all the rest, those more subtle influences which arise from the destruction of the "complex web of custom and institution," which Dr. Rivers describes as constituting native society, are perhaps more deadly still. These influences, and the steps which we have taken to meet them, have already been described at length, and it is hoped that we shall be successful. In any case I think we are doing all that we can, and it is interesting to note that the remedies which the Rev. Mr. Durrad suggests to save the Melanesian from extinction are those which

¹ See, for a rather different view of the value of clothing, Winston Churchill, *My African Journal*, p. 31.

had already been adopted in Papua ; including even the prohibition of European clothing, the “ baby bonus,” and native plantations. Some anthropologists, to whom the “ baby bonus ” is too rough-and-ready a measure, have objected to it on the ground that it is an “ artificial ” encouragement of population ; but the resultant babies are not artificial—they are real enough, and surely that is all that matters.

So far as our statistics go there appears to be a decrease, occasionally an alarming one in some parts, especially in the east and north-east ; but it is considered that the larger villages of the Central and other Divisions show an increase which is more than equal to the decline of smaller villages in the east. The population of the latter may have been affected to some extent by the number of indentured labourers that they have supplied to the mines and the plantations. It is said too that the fact that institutions in the east are matriarchal has a bearing on the subject ; for the women there have a greater influence ; and that influence, it is said, is always on the side of the limitation of families. This, I presume, was always the case and is obviously not due to contact with Europeans ; but practices of abortion and contraception are, it is said, more frequent of late years, on account of an increased uncertainty in married life, which is distinctly traceable to the effects of white settlement.

In the old days, I have been informed by the Rev. C. W. Abel, a marriage was looked upon as a matter of great importance—it meant the alliance of two families, so that not only the actual parties to the match, but the relatives on both sides, had to agree. The payment made at marriage was not a purchase, but was really in the nature of an investment, which might be refunded on a suitable

occasion, and returned again later on. Then the married couple would not settle among the husband's kinsfolk ; the eastern natives are exogamous, and the husband goes to live in the wife's village, perhaps many miles away from his home. All this made for a permanent union. The husband, being surrounded by his wife's relations, would do his best not to quarrel with her, and he knew that if he ran back to his own people he would meet with a sorry reception, for his action would upset all the family arrangements, and might interfere with the refund of the investment.

Now this is all changed ; the gradual decay of institutions is the cause, assisted by the facility with which a native can escape all unpleasantness in his village by going off to work as an indentured labourer on a plantation or elsewhere. Marriage is now much more of a temporary arrangement, and a wife is naturally disinclined to bear children who may be left on her hands at any time by a defaulting husband.

It would appear, however, that things are improving. A Native Regulation now allows the wife to proceed against her husband for desertion, and with the spread of Christianity a higher conception of marriage is formed. The marriages of Christians are, it is said, noticeably more permanent than others, and are also, I believe, more prolific.

I think that it is always safe to assume that the first estimate of population is a great deal too high, and an apparent decrease, when more accurate figures are available, often means nothing. I remember, e.g., that the population of the Purari Delta was thought to amount to 20,000, and 5,000 was considered quite a low estimate for the biggest villages ; in fact, though I was fully aware

of the tendency to exaggerate, I allotted, in my estimates, 5,000 to at least two villages. As a matter of fact, none of them contain much more than 2,000.

Again, it sometimes happens that natives migrate from one place to another, so that one who knew the old village, passing the spot years afterwards, finds no village there, and from this draws the inference that the villagers are all dead ; but this is not necessarily true, for they may be living quite happily somewhere else. Or someone, arriving in unexplored country, sees a very large native population, and afterwards, when the district is better known, it is found to be rather sparsely inhabited. The explanation is not necessarily that the natives have died out. It may be that there was never much of a resident population, but that crowds assembled from all around, perhaps two days' journey or more, to see the white man when he was an object of curiosity, and that, when the novelty wore off, they came no more.

Then there are other tribes who apparently must disappear before long, and when one considers their habits, the only cause for surprise is that they should ever have come into existence at all. Such are the men described by Mr. Beaver, Resident Magistrate of the Western Division¹ :

“ It is easily seen ” (he says, speaking of the district between the Fly and the Pahoturi) “ that the few people are rapidly decreasing in numbers. The men are absolute weeds, and do not live to any age. The birth-rate is small, due to the lack of women—and a practice of marrying little girls to grown-up men. I saw several wives who could not be more than eight or ten years old.”²

Mr. Beaver also mentioned the probability of “ unnatural offences and other filthy customs.”

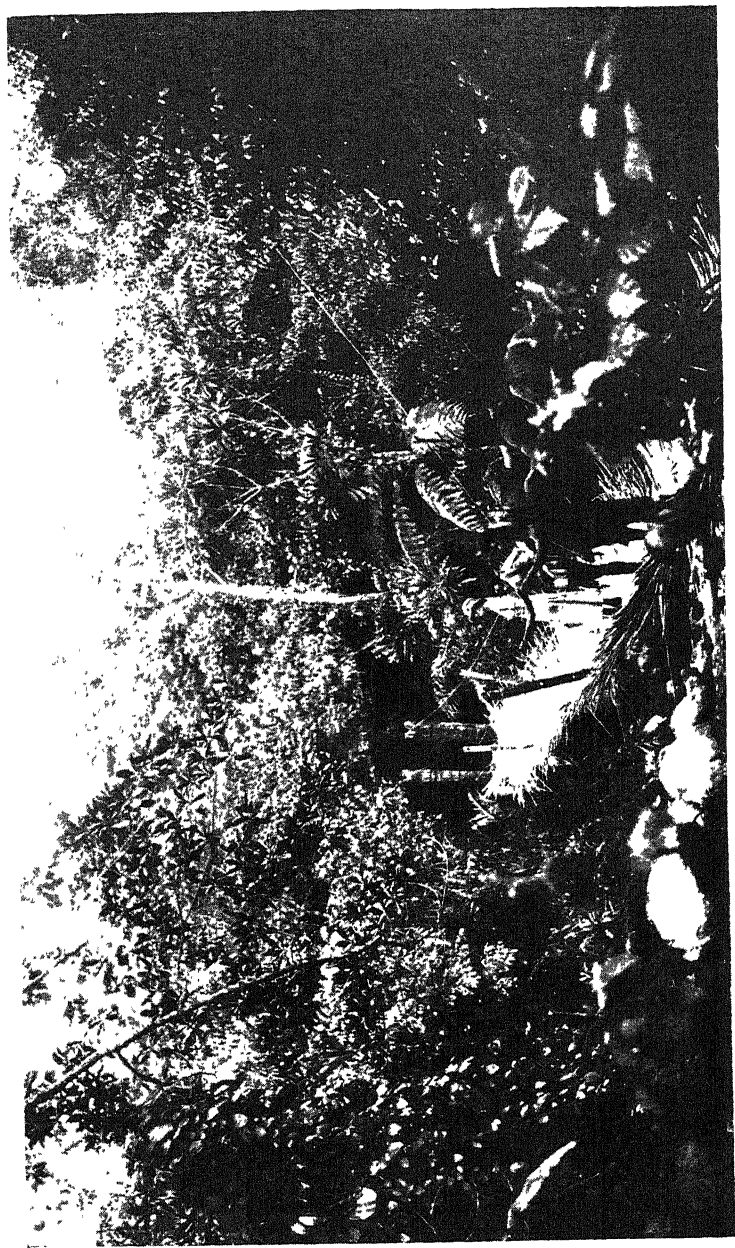
¹ Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 12.

² I have been told by members of the Armed Constabulary, who have married in the region of the Wasi Kussa, that the marriage is not consummated until the bride grows up. There is a similar practice in the west of the Eastern Division.

Tribes of this kind must die out in any case, whether white men come or not, and their existence shows how the problem is complicated by the lack of evidence whether the population was increasing or decreasing when we first came to Papua. It is difficult to imagine that people with such habits as those mentioned by Mr. Beaver should ever increase, and even the better class of native must have had a big handicap to carry in his struggle to survive. He lived in a state of almost constant war and it has been no very uncommon thing even within recent years for whole villages to be destroyed, with their inhabitants ; there were droughts and famines ; there was, of course, no idea of sanitation ; and in case of sickness or accident there was hardly even the most rudimentary knowledge of any remedy beyond the skill of the sorcerer.

The pacification of the Territory must in itself give a considerable impetus to population, or at least do much to stop the decline, if it was declining when we came. There is a tendency sometimes to minimize the effect of war in reducing population, and this tendency is noticeable among some of the writers of the *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, which I have mentioned so often, but my own experience in Papua agrees with the view expressed by Mr. Carr Saunders. Mr. Saunders attributes little effect to war generally, but adds : " A considerable amount of elimination must, among certain tribes, arise from that peculiar form of blood feud which is connected with the belief that natural death is caused by some enemy," with which I would couple that form of vendetta which demands the " payment " of a life for every life that has been lost.¹ Both these practices were universal throughout Papua, and are rightly held accountable for the vast areas of

¹ See Carr Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 171.



BRIDGE ON BUNA-KOKODA ROAD

unpopulated land which one finds in the Territory.

I do not think myself that we can hope to save all the tribes. I think that it is quite possible that some of them may die out altogether, but that others will survive and increase to such numbers as to more than make up for their loss. Many of the smaller inland tribes may disappear, especially those of puny physique and anti-social habits, and possibly also some of the Eastern Division natives, and of the islanders of the south-east. It will be another case of our old friend "the survival of the fittest," though we may hope to mitigate the harshness of the selection; and indeed it appears to be merely a matter of common-sense that, if a community wants to die out, and the women persistently refuse to bear children, there is no means by which that community can be kept alive. You may try to make life happier and easier for them, and you may threaten them with the penalties of the law, which, in the case of abortion, are very severe, and you may appeal to their religion, but if, after all this, the women still refuse to bear children, I do not see how you can make them.

So far as I can ascertain, the decrease is due entirely to birth control, which, with the Papuan, takes the form of abortion, or the cruder forms of contraceptive practice.¹ I do not think that epidemics of disease have much to do with it, nor do I think that the fact that a number of young men go away to work makes much difference, and I cannot see the slightest evidence of a decrease of vigour or vitality. Abortion was always practised, but it is doubtless more frequent now—such at least is the general impression among those who knew the older times; there are of course no statistics, for con-

¹ Native drugs, too, are taken, almost certainly without effect. But see Carr Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 145.

victions are very rare indeed. The increase in abortion could only be explained by an increased disinclination to bear children ; and this again has been explained, as I have already said, by reference to the breaking up of old customs and the transition from the old life to the new. This explanation is, in my opinion, quite correct, but there is also, I think, some wider cause which impels communities to race suicide. It is an impulse which is not confined to Papua ; communities far higher and more civilized than the Papuans exhibit the same tendency, and even religious influences are almost powerless against it.

With regard to Papua in particular it seems strange that the population in the east, in the neighbourhood of Samarai, is apparently decreasing very fast, while the population round Port Moresby is increasing. The influence of Europeans has been at least as great in Port Moresby as in the Samarai district, and that of the Mission (it is the same Mission in both cases) certainly no less ; epidemics have been about the same, and interference with native customs probably just as great or as little in one case as in the other. Certainly more " boys " go to work from Samarai than from Port Moresby, but I cannot think that this in itself could make all the difference ; for after all only a small percentage go away, and these, as a rule, only for a year or eighteen months, so that the birth-rate cannot be very materially affected. In Samarai they seem to have lost heart, while in Port Moresby they have not ; but why there should be this difference I cannot tell—it can hardly be racial, for racially the two communities are much the same.

I have no doubt that most of the native tribes of Papua will eventually adjust themselves to their new environment even in the east of the Territory, but it is desirable that

we should take every means to assist them. The various ways in which I think we can do this are discussed in these chapters, and if they fail I must admit that I do not know any that are better.

Unfortunately this question of the decrease in population has been made a happy hunting-ground for all the faddists of the Pacific. One is continually being told that the natives dance too much and that dancing should be forbidden ; that they do not dance enough and that dancing should be encouraged ; that feasts should be approved as a means of assisting and improving native agriculture ; and that they should be disapproved as encouraging waste, gluttony and sickness ; that the natives eat too much and work too little ; and that they eat too little and work too much. The advice is sometimes rendered more impressive and obscure by being clothed in the language of psycho-analysis, or some other philosophical system with which few of us are familiar ; and has seemed to me an excellent instance of Professor Hobhouse's criticism of our relations with weaker peoples that " we move in an atmosphere vitiated by the insincere use of high-sounding words." ¹

The philosopher and doctrinaire makes a dangerous administrator, and the psycho-analyst probably no less ; but it must not be thought that I have any intention of belittling the claims of psycho-analysis or any other form of thought. I am, of course, aware of the fact that an incursion which has been made by a leading psycho-analyst into the sphere of ethnology has not been entirely successful, but I am not concerned with this ; all I am concerned with is that neither he nor his fellows should make a premature incursion into the sphere of practical administration. I

¹ *Liberalism*, Home University Library, p. 43.

say "premature" incursion because I am quite willing to believe that this and other modern forms of psychology may eventually be of practical service ; but I venture to think that the wholesale application of these sciences should be postponed until they have stood the test of time. The issues at stake are too great for rash experiment, for they are nothing less than the lives of men and women who have been entrusted to our care.

I have recently read a review of a book on *Primitive Mentality*, by Professor Lévy Brühl,¹ though I have not been able to procure the book itself. His argument apparently is that the savage does not think logically and is devoid of mechanistic conception ; if he puts a fishing net into the water it is not, to his mind, the net which catches the fish, but the Powers, who, charmed with this seemly act of ritual, have made him a suitable present in token of their esteem. I cannot say that this is not true of some particular savages whom the Professor may have in mind, but I am certain that what he says has no application to the Papuan native.² To apply this theory to Papuan administration might have strange results. Consequently I think that this, and similar appreciations of primitive thought, should be relegated to the realm of theory ; or, if they must be tried in practice, I should recommend that the experiment be made *in corpore vili*, but certainly not on the natives of Papua.

To return to the population question. It would seem that the proportion of children to the total number of inhabitants would give a fair idea of the general tendency of the population, but the difficulty is that the age of natives is seldom known with any degree of accuracy, and can

¹ In *The Nation and Athenæum*.

² For a criticism of this theory of the "mentalité prélogique," see Th. Mainage, *Les religions de la préhistoire*, p. 340, note 39.

36½ per cent. The advantage in favour of Papua may be attributable, to some extent, to the probable greater longevity in Australia.

Native administration has had a freer hand in Papua than elsewhere, and has developed on rather different lines. One great distinction is that elsewhere, so far as I know, the expense of native administration falls upon the general revenue, whereas with us it does not. In Papua it comes almost entirely out of a fund which is provided by the proceeds of native taxation and which cannot be used for general expenditure.

A similar provision was, according to Sir Frederick Lugard, included in Cecil Rhodes' "Glen Grey Act," but was apparently never acted upon and was finally repealed.¹ I am not aware of any other precedent.

Thus our native administration depends almost entirely upon our system of native taxation, and our system of native taxation differs, apparently, from that which is in force in other countries. Elsewhere, I believe, the tax is imposed, partly at any rate, for the admitted purpose of inducing natives to work ; and the tax is often remitted in the case of a native who "signs on" to work for a white man. There seems to be but little difference, either in principle or in application, between the method of fining a man who does not go to work, and the method of making him pay a tax of a similar amount, with a remission in case he does go ; yet, while the former method would be denounced as slavery, the latter would be admitted without question. The result to the native in both cases is exactly the same—he has in each case to pay a sum of money if he does not work for the white man, and in each case the payment is remitted if he does.

¹ See *Dual Mandate*, p. 234.

In Papua the tax is imposed solely for the purpose of raising money, and the indentured labourer has to pay the tax as well as others. We considered that the imposition of a tax in order to induce natives to work was, practically, equivalent to an admission of the principle of forced labour, and forced labour had been definitely disapproved. So the native tax in Papua is a tax, and a tax only.

Further, it was thought that the special taxation of a certain class could only be justified if the proceeds of the tax were expended for the benefit of that class. The natives were already paying in customs duties an amount usually estimated as equal to a third of the local revenue, and it was thought that they would certainly have good cause to complain if the special tax levied upon them were appropriated for purposes of general administration. Consequently a provision was inserted in the Native Taxes Ordinance that the money raised by the tax should be paid into a separate account, and should be devoted to native purposes. One of these purposes is the sanitation of villages and the treatment of village diseases : an absolutely necessary task which has always been done so far as our means have allowed, but which has unlimited possibilities of extension.

The tax is levied on all males between the years of 16 and 36 with certain exceptions. The exceptions are police, natives who are unfit to work, the fathers of four children, and mission teachers and students.

The tax may not exceed £1 a year, and varies according to the district ; in some districts it is as low as 5s., and other districts are not taxed at all as the people are too poor to pay.

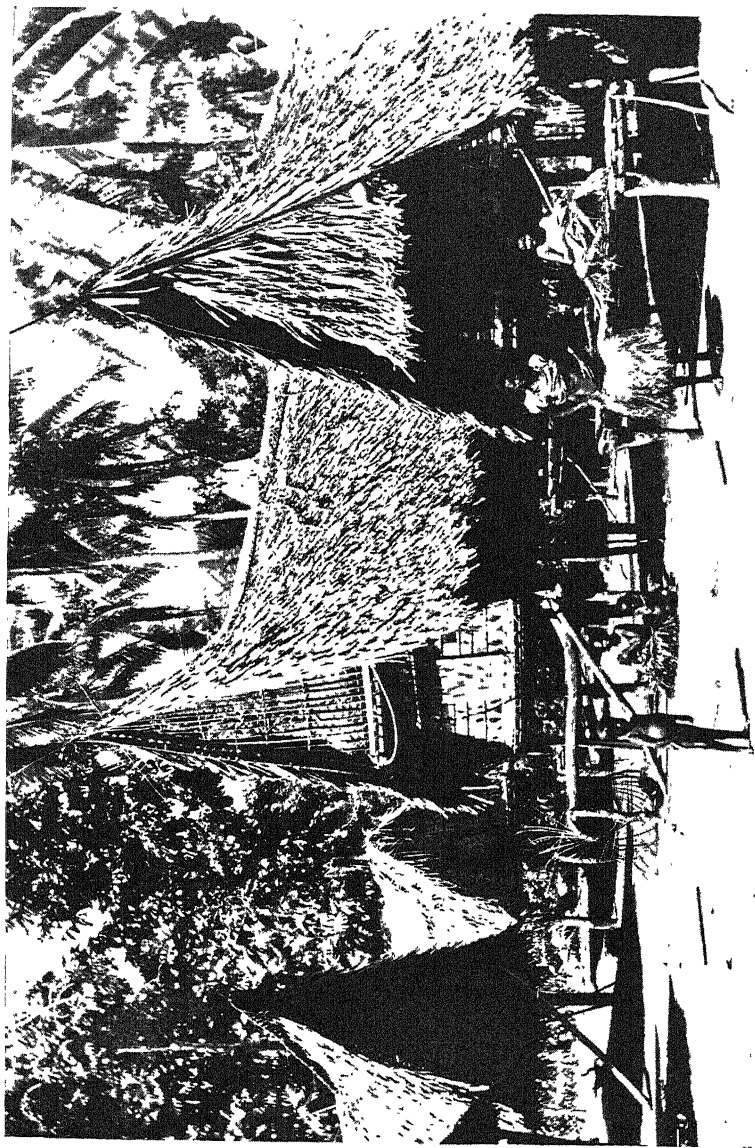
The proceeds of the tax are to be expended (1) for the general and technical education of the natives, and (2) for

such purposes having for their object the "direct benefit of the natives of Papua as may be prescribed." There is thus no temptation to a hard-pressed Government to raise extra revenue by increasing the tax, for the tax all goes into the separate account and cannot assist the Treasurer in his budget.

The tax is, generally speaking, not so unpopular as might be expected ; children are occasionally called "Takis," which is the nearest a native can get to "tax" ; the taxpayer has even on occasion been cheered ; the villages that have been exempted have resented the imputation that they could not pay, and have insisted that they too shall be taxed with their neighbours.

All this is very strange ; £1 is a large sum for a Papuan to find, and it would not have been surprising if the collection of the tax had met with bitter opposition. I have been told that the explanation is not, as one is inclined to think, that the taxpayers are all mad, but that the more intelligent among them take it as a compliment that they should be asked to contribute to the administration of the Territory, and are glad that they are not left out of account altogether. If it is true that any proportion of the native population, however small, takes this view, it must be regarded as extremely gratifying, for it is evidence that some of them have begun to appreciate the efforts that have been made towards their good government ; and it is also a sign of the development among them of a civic spirit which, personally, I should not have expected for generations to come. It is possible, also, that the native feels that by the taking of the census and the payment of the tax he is brought into closer relation with the Government than before, and that this is itself a cause of satisfaction to him.

In any case, it is to be expected that this feeling will



VILLAGE ON DOBU ISLAND

in the life of the Papuan. He is not allowed to fight, and his work has been reduced ; his occupation is largely gone and the interest of his life has disappeared. Now we have to find something that we can put in the place of what he has lost, and it is hard to see what else this can be but work—that is manual labour. It seems to me idle to argue that manual labour is a pleasant thing. We know, in fact, that for the majority of men it is nothing of the sort, and that, of all forms of labour, labour for wages in the service and for the benefit of another is probably the least attractive. Still we must get the Papuan interested in some useful occupation. We must, as I said many years ago, transform the “tribe of disappointed warriors into a race of more or less industrious workmen” ; we must fill the gap somehow, or our “pax” will prove a “solitudo,” for the Papuan will die.

Then the question arises: How is this to be done? A certain number will solve the question for themselves ; that is to say, they will go and work for white men on plantations and elsewhere, and will bring back what they have learned and apply it to their own gardens at their village. But the majority will go on in their old conservative way, and their old conservative way will not do in the new world that is rising up around them. They must bestir themselves and march with the times—the old dark days of the Stone Age have passed away, and the age of steel is upon them with all its bustle and activity.

Now the Papuan does not like work any more than the rest of us, and like the rest of us he is not likely to work unless he has an inducement. And how are we going to induce him?

Well, one can force him to work for the benefit of an employer either directly (which would certainly not be

allowed in an Australian territory) or indirectly by means of a tax (which with equal certainty would be allowed) ; or one can compel him to work for his own benefit as we are doing in Papua. The latter is, in my opinion, the only really effective way of dealing with the question. To compel a native to work in the interest of a white man certainly has an unpleasant appearance and has been distinctly disapproved by the League of Nations ; and, furthermore, it leads to nothing, for when it is all over, the native is but little advanced. He has learned to chop scrub and pick weeds, but it is quite possible that he may have learned little else. And if we are going to keep him till the end of time as an unskilled labourer working for the white man at a wage of two shillings and sixpence a week, I do not think he will have much to thank us for, and Australia will have definitely failed as a custodian of native races.

Labour in the service of a white man on a plantation at what, I suppose, must be considered a reasonable wage for a native, however absurd it may seem to a European, probably offers as good an industrial training as a native could have, by way of a beginning—but only by way of a beginning. For the ordinary plantation work, at 10s. a month, cannot seem very exhilarating to the more ambitious among the natives, when regarded as an end.

A young native, who has no particular trade, probably could not do better than go to work for a term on a mine or a plantation, but I think that he should be able to look forward to the time when he will be able to make use, for his own advantage, of the habits which the plantation or mine has taught him. I think that the native generally benefits by a term of service with a good employer—as I have often said he comes back as a rule better and stronger

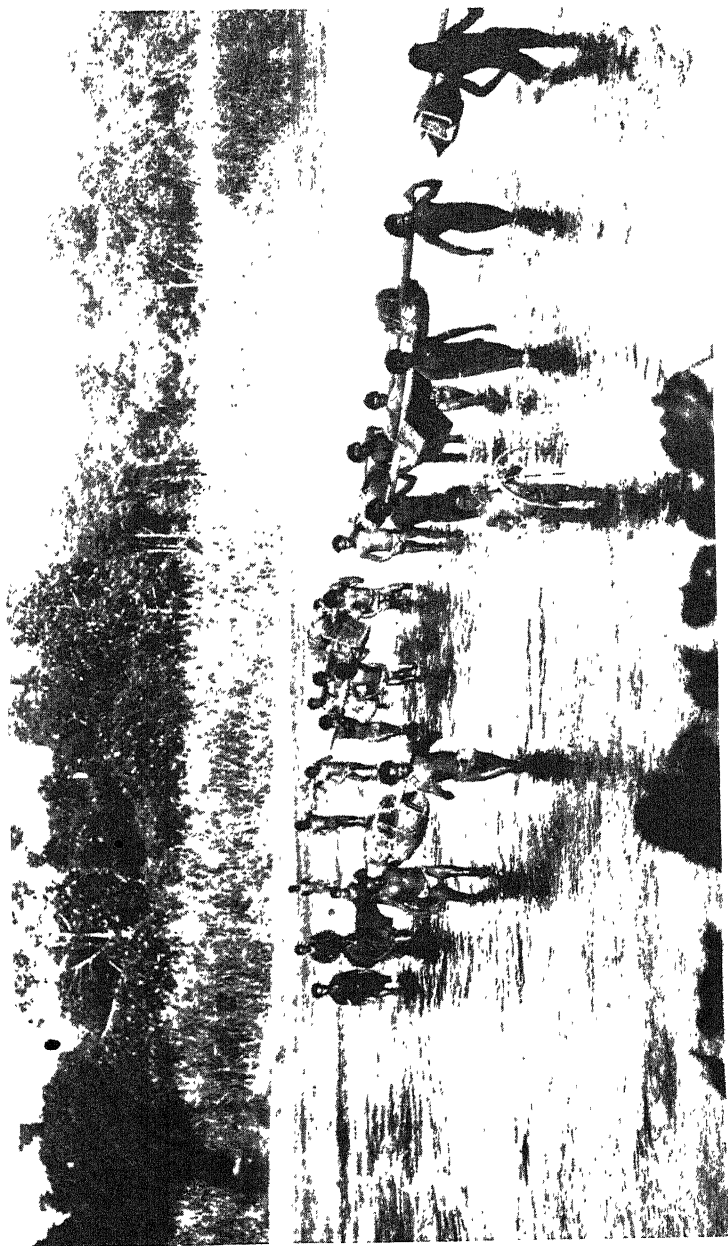
than he was when he went away—but I cannot bring myself to believe that manual labour in the service of a white man can add much zest to native life, or prove a satisfactory substitute for the interest and excitement of bygone days. Existence in any case is rather drab coloured in a native village which has been duly pacified and brought under control, and it is doubtful whether its general hue has been perceptibly brightened by the institution of indentured labour.

It is probable that modern industrialism will offer but little attraction to the Papuan, and we should therefore try to discover a form of civilization which may appeal to him more readily ; and this, I think, we shall find in a life based upon the cultivation of the soil for the benefit of himself and his fellows.

This is a matter to which I invited attention in 1907, but which it was impossible to deal with at the time ; it is now regulated by the Native Plantations Ordinance 1918.

In effect the system works out very much as follows. The Government resumes an area of land near a village and calls it a Native Plantation. The natives, or a certain number of them, work out their tax by clearing, planting, etc., while the Government superintends, and supplies seed and tools. The crop is divided between the Government and the villagers, and the proceeds of the Government's share are paid into the same account as the tax, and consequently can only be expended for the direct benefit of the natives.

This is something on the same lines as the " culture system " formerly established in Java, with this all-important difference, that the proceeds do not go into general revenue and cannot be used for general purposes of admini-



CROSSING THE GIRIWU RIVER, NORTH-EAST COAST

stration ; and there is, therefore, no temptation to a hard-pressed Government to increase the Government's share, and consequently no possibility of abuse such as, it is said, arose in the Dutch Colonies.¹

The advantage of this system from the point of view of the native is that, instead of being kept indefinitely as the servant of the white man, he is encouraged to strike out for himself, with plantations and other industries of his own. The idea of native-owned and native-worked plantations is unfamiliar to us in Australia. Such plantations are common enough in Africa, but in Papua native agriculture is still in its infancy, and it is perhaps too soon to prophesy that it will ever emerge from that helpless state. Personally I think that it will, if the present policy is continued, for the policy in question has not yet been long in force. The native plantations are improving, but even now the best are probably inferior to the most carelessly kept European plantation.

Hill rice and coco-nuts are the principal cultures that have been attempted in these plantations ; and cacao and oil palms are being introduced. Rice has been cultivated chiefly in the Gulf of Papua ; about 200 tons were produced last year, far more than I expected, and it is thought that the yield will increase, especially as there are other districts where rice might be grown successfully.

The average Papuan is very conservative—what was good enough for his grandfather is good enough for him—and the results of our attempts to introduce new cultures or new methods of cultivation are often heartbreaking to us, as they must be exasperating to the Papuan whom we are trying to improve. Their reasoning no doubt is that

¹ An interesting account of the advantages as well as the dangers of the Dutch system is given in Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* (see Chapter VII, p. 73, and Chapter XVII).

they were all right before we came, and that they would be all right still if we would only let them alone ; but unfortunately this is just what we cannot do—we cannot let them alone. They have been swept up by our civilization, and they must conform to it as best they may. Advice and exhortation have not very much effect on a Papuan. He will approve and vigorously applaud any new agricultural or industrial scheme that a Government officer may place before him, but he has not the slightest intention of carrying it out ; and when the officer comes round again in six months' time he finds that nothing whatever has been done. This is probably the way of the peasant proprietor all over the world. So we enforce our methods of economic and agricultural reform by threats of imprisonment in case of disobedience ; threats which I am glad to say it is not always necessary to put into execution.

Native agriculture is important as tending to conserve and stabilize the native race, and to prevent the native from losing his individuality and from sinking into the position of a tenth-rate white man, aping the lower aspects of the white man's culture, but unable to recognize or appreciate the higher. Native agriculture in Africa has been recommended by high authorities as superior to any other in rapidity of expansion and general efficiency. I have but little hope that I shall ever be able to say the same thing of Papua, though possibly my successors may ; but even if Papuan agriculture is never to be efficient I should still consider its encouragement to be important on moral grounds, as saving the race from disintegration.

Personally I do not think it likely that Papuan agriculture will ever be as well managed as the ordinary European plantation, but, even with this admission, I think that the system I have outlined is likely to be of importance from

the point of view of development. It is clear that the limitation of the labour supply will prevent the full development of the Territory by what (without using the word in any invidious sense) I may call the "capitalistic" system, that is, the present system of indentured labour under European control. For getting the greatest return from the land actually occupied the capitalistic system is probably better than any other, but it ceases to be effective when there is a scarcity of labour. Consequently, as it is likely that there will be a scarcity of labour in Papua, it follows that this system should be supplemented by some other, unless the Territory is to be left undeveloped. And that other system should, in my opinion, be based upon the native plantations which I have suggested, or upon something of the same nature.

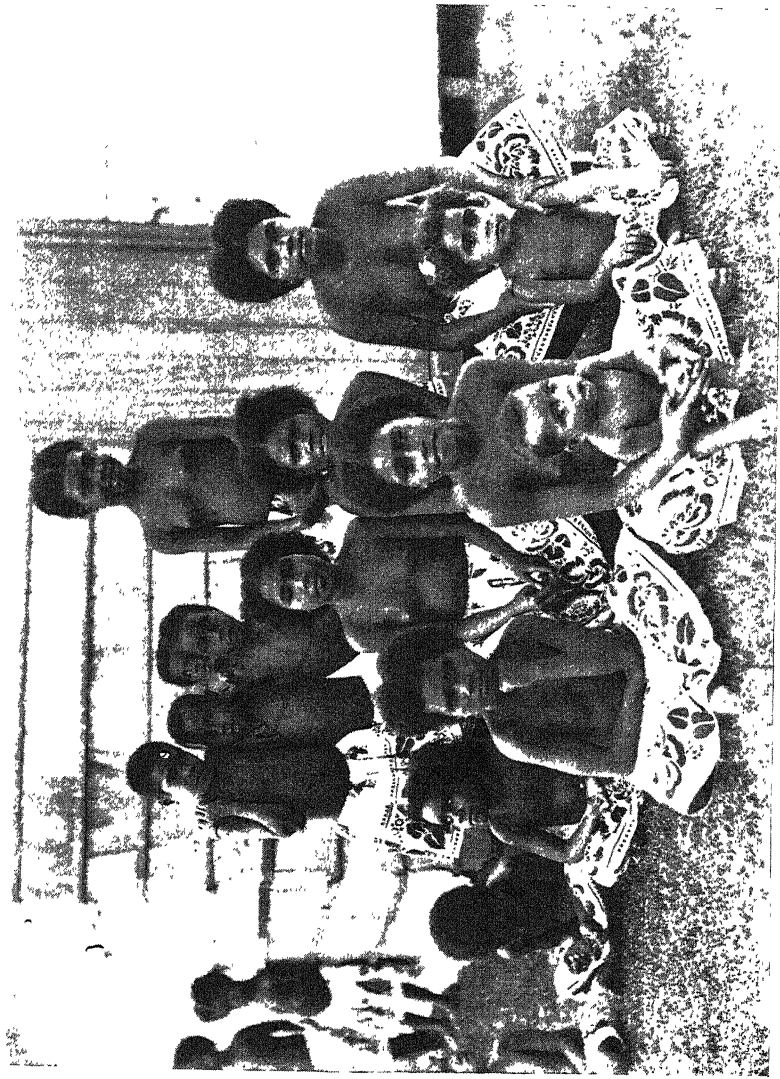
The effects of the native plantations cannot show themselves for many years, but eventually a considerable area of land might be brought under cultivation in this way—land which in all probability would never be touched by capitalistic enterprise. It is the only way I can imagine in which the mountainous districts of the interior can be developed. These districts contain many small pockets of land rich enough and suitable for cultivation by native owners; but they do not offer many areas which will attract European settlement, and, even where they do, the cost of transport to and from the coast would probably be a deterrent. Probably all the mountain districts, up to 4,000 or 5,000 feet, are suitable for coffee, and there are certainly places in favoured parts where coffee could be grown at a profit by Europeans. But in the majority of cases the cultivation can only be by natives, for the native is not worried by labour troubles. He does not depend upon the plantation for a living, and he is but

little concerned about transport, for he grows his own food and can carry his crop down to the coast himself.

There is a large area in Papua that is perhaps hardly worth developing ; and from the rest of the Territory the best value is to be achieved by the two systems combined. Of course the development will be slow, but in any other way there will hardly be development at all, except of picked areas along or near the coast.

The only objection, so far as I know, to the " native plantation " scheme is that it may result in the withdrawal of labour from plantations worked under what I have called the capitalistic system. This objection would be of very great weight as regards that part of my argument which deals with the development of the Territory, however little it may affect the part which deals with the welfare of the natives ; and, if I thought the objection a valid one, I could not argue that native plantations would assist development. For, while we should gain in one way by the establishment of such plantations, we should lose in another, if we thereby made it impossible for capitalistic enterprise to take up further areas, and perhaps even to extend plantations already in existence. However, I do not think the objection a valid one. I do not think that the supply of labour will be affected (especially if the system is introduced gradually, as I have suggested) any more than I think that the supply of labour has been affected in the past by the enforcement of the Regulation under which natives are compelled to plant coco-nuts.

It certainly seems the quintessence of humbug to suggest a life of toil to the native as the condition of his salvation, for a life of toil is the very thing from which we are all trying to escape. Nevertheless, I am convinced that it is the true solution, though at the same time I think that we should



LONDON MISSION SOCIETY GIRLS, KWATO, NEAR SAMARAI

be careful to see that the native's life is not all work—that there is a fair share of play, either in the form of dances, or of games, or of fishing or hunting or any other pastime that takes his fancy.

Dancing is the universal form of recreation, and should not in my opinion be discouraged; immoral dances should be suppressed, but to suppress dancing simply *qua* dancing seems to me an unnecessary piece of cruelty. I know that there have been, and probably still are, immoral and indecent dances in Papua, but I have never seen one. It is said that any dance is objectionable because it supplies the occasion for immorality. I do not know how this may be, and I think that to scrutinize every form of amusement, in order to detect and suppress any possible suggestion of and opportunity for sexual indulgence, is a piece of interference unworthy of a healthy administration, and would logically lead to the prohibition of all association between young men and women. Incidentally also it would probably fail entirely in its purpose.¹

It is perhaps interesting that a few hours after writing this I went down to the village to look at a special kind of a dance which I had not seen before. The dance, which was called Kovea, seemed to me as dull as most native dances, but more picturesque than some; and the boys looked such clean-built athletic fellows, glistening with coco-nut oil, and glorious with feathers, and the girls so smart with their new ramis specially imported from Kabadi, the Paris of the Port Moresby women, that I felt quite proud of being in a sense their countryman.

And then the village constable, a very old friend of mine, came up, and began telling me that the art of dancing was

¹ Indecency is largely a matter of opinion. Victor Hugo apparently thought the waltz indecent—"La valse impure au vol lascif et circulaire."

disappearing, and that with it all the old New Guinea fashions were going, that the feasts would go with the dances, and that when the feasts had gone skill in gardening would cease to be valued, and would disappear. He probably exaggerated the state of things ; the population of the Port Moresby villages has probably at least doubled in his lifetime, and the present is certainly not so bad nor the past nearly so good as he imagines. But it is interesting that he should diagnose the case of his countrymen so entirely on the lines made popular by Dr. Rivers.

Personally I agree so far with the village constable that I shall be sorry when the feasts and dances go, though I am fully aware of the demoralizing effects and the economic evils which are (not without reason) attributed to them in various parts of the Territory ; but I do not know any means by which a Government can keep them alive. No administration can force a man to dance and make merry against his will ; and if the natives themselves do not want these feasts and dances I suppose that the feasts and dances must go. Their place may be taken, so far as the men are concerned, by cricket and other games which they may learn from us ; for any game is useful as relieving the monotony of existence, and cricket seems particularly suited to the Papuan taste. Many natives play well, and keep on playing until middle age. There are four members of the Reverend C. W. Abel's team at Kwato, near Samarai, who are well over forty, and who have been playing for more than twenty years ; had these men remained in the village and led the ordinary village life they would probably be posing as old men, incapable of doing a day's work, but, as it is, they will go through a hard-fought match with the best of the younger men of any colour.

I fear, however, that these games will always be confined to centres of European influence, and will hardly take the place of the old merry-making in the village.

It would be a great advance if we could induce the village natives to take an interest in some form of self-government. This will probably be our most difficult task. Village Councils were established some years ago in the Western Division, but it was found to be impossible to extend them to the other Divisions. The natives of the Port Moresby villages, for instance, flatly refused to have anything to do with such a scheme, and insisted upon leaving everything to the Government, who, they said, were better able to attend to such matters than they ; but of late Councils have been established in a part of the North-Eastern Division, and it is hoped that the idea will in time become popular. The duties of the Council are to attend to village matters generally, such as the repair of buildings, the condition of wells, the cultivation of the village plantation and so forth ; councillors have no judicial power.

Most people will be of opinion that we are going very much too fast in endeavouring to establish these Councils, but I do not think that we are. Similar Councils have been established for many years, with I believe much greater powers, in the islands of Torres Straits; and I see that Sir Frederick Lugard advocates the gradual establishment of some form of self-government even among tribes which are as primitive, apparently, as any we have in Papua.¹

General and technical education are the objects which are specially mentioned in the Taxation Ordinance as being those upon which the proceeds of the tax are to be expended.

Even from the purely material point of view it cannot be to the best interests of a country that the bulk of its

¹ *Dual Mandate*, Chapter XI.

population should be plunged in ignorance, and for this reason alone (apart altogether from the higher motives which have always influenced the Commonwealth in dealing with native problems) it was imperative that the Government should take its share in the work of native education, which has hitherto been carried out by the missions alone, without any assistance whatever. It seems probable that the differences between backward and advanced races lie, to quote Lord Bryce, "not so much in intelligence as in force of will and tenacity of purpose." It is doubtful how far these qualities can be developed, but with the Papuan it is well worth trying.

The question of native education was raised as long ago as 1911 and 1912, but it was decided, wisely, I think, by the Commonwealth Government, "that, for the present, the work of obtaining and maintaining control over the whole Territory is paramount even to the claims of education." A few years later it was considered that the extension of Government influence had been so satisfactory that the question of education might be further considered. Of course, as in all Papuan matters, the question of finance was the stumbling block—how could we find money to educate the natives, when we had a difficulty in finding enough to provide even the simplest accommodation for them when they were sick? And the obvious answer was that we should raise it by native taxation.

It might be argued, of course, that we educated European children free of charge, and that the natives, as British subjects, were entitled to free education also, to be paid out of the general revenue, just as they are entitled to the free protection of our laws. But the cases are not quite analogous; education is absolutely essential to a white man, but it is not absolutely essential to a Papuan.

Native education was obviously part of the policy which had been approved by the Commonwealth from the first—the policy, that is, of helping the natives of Papua to raise themselves to the highest state of civilization which they are capable of attaining. But so far nothing whatever had been done by the Government in this direction. The little that was done was all done by the Missions, and under these circumstances it was thought that the money which could be spared for education would go further, and would produce better results, if it were used to subsidize the Missions, than if it were expended in the construction and maintenance of Government schools.

There were good precedents for the payments of a subsidy to the Missions. From the Colonial Office List it appears that mission schools are assisted in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and other African colonies, and though it is not always safe to act upon the analogy of these colonies (for their conditions differ in many ways from ours), it was thought that in this case, at any rate, their example might be followed. There was also this further consideration—that the Missions, by their services in carrying on native education for so many years without Government support, had earned our gratitude to this extent, that we should at least offer them assistance, which they might accept or decline according as they might approve or disapprove of the conditions attached.

Technical education is also being carried out by subsidies to the Missions, and to the Kwato Extension Association which is carrying on industrial work in the Eastern Division.

There can be no doubt that the natives will take full advantage of any opportunities of industrial training which may be offered to them, and it is fortunate that this is so :

for I do not think that Papua will ever be "a white man's country," in the sense that white men will marry and settle down and make their homes here in any numbers. There has hitherto been little or no industrial training of Papuans, and yet in the Annual Report of as long ago as 1917-18 I was able to say that

"At the present time nearly all the oil launches in the Territory are run by natives, many of the sailing boats are sailed by them, they build boats and houses, they are beginning to find employment as clerks, and, as will be seen from Dr. Strong's very interesting report, they can be taught such delicate work as skin-grafting; indeed, the Medical Officer at Samarai even has a native whom he entrusts with the administration of anæsthetics when he has to perform an operation. And it must be remembered that very few of these 'boys' have had any regular training. Some, no doubt, have learned their trade at a Mission, but the greater part have picked it up from watching a white man—for instance, the native who administers anæsthetics learned in this way. It must be remembered that it does not often happen that a white man wants to teach a native his trade, and, even if he wants to, he rarely has the necessary patience; and in any case there is the difficulty arising from the difference of language—a difficulty which is all the greater from the fact that so many of us cherish in our hearts a secret conviction that anyone, wherever born, can understand English if he really tries, provided that the English is spoken in a very loud tone, and (some of us appear to think) is plentifully garnished with adjectives."

The outstanding criticism of the Papuan Government used to be that it was "pampering" and "coddling" the natives and encouraging them in habits of idleness. The tide seems now to be turning, and it is likely that in the future we shall be accused, rather, of overworking the Papuan and driving him too hard. This is not evidence of inconsistency, it is due to the fact that different people are talking; our critics of to-day are as a rule of a different class from our critics of a few years ago. Then it was

generally the capitalist, the man who wanted to develop the country, who published his opinion of the administration of Papua. He is, I think, convinced now that we are doing the best we can in rather a difficult position, and his criticism has practically ceased ; and his place has been taken by the enthusiast for native races who takes an entirely opposite view. Eventually the enthusiast also will satisfy himself that we know exactly what we are doing, and that our administration is not so bad after all.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

Question whether Natives are happier for Arrival of Europeans—Papuan in his Native State probably less free from Care than is ordinarily thought—Impossibility of measuring Happiness—Duty to the Native Population—Special Duty of the Government—Performance of this Duty by the Government likely to lead to Misunderstanding—Conduct of Government in such a Case—Present Native Policy—Kwato Extension Association and Papuan Industries Limited—Alleged Lack of Interest in Papua on Part of Australians—Some Mistaken Ideas but no Lack of Interest in General—The “Teeming Fertility” of the Tropics—Opinion of Lord Olivier—Mr. Carr Saunders—“Element of Destructiveness”—Indigenous Food Supply—Lack of Cereals—Probable Importance of Papua and New Guinea to Australia in the Future—White Australia Policy—Differences between Australian Administration and Crown Colony Government—Effect of Proximity of Australia—Objections to Asiatic Settlement—Future of the Papuan.

It is a common subject of speculation whether the presence of the white man has done more harm or good to native races in general ; and in particular whether the Papuan has been made more or less happy by the advent of Europeans in his country, and by the extension of Government influence, and all the rest of it.

The probability is that the Papuan in his native state was far less happy and care-free than we imagine. He was tightly bound by the rules of hard-and-fast conventions which governed practically the whole of his life, he was the constant prey of superstitious terrors, he not infrequently suffered from want of food, and he was exposed to ever-present danger of attack. On the other hand, he had no Government to work for, no tax to pay, no jail to fear, and no imported diseases to suffer and to die from. Anyone may strike a balance between the two lists as he chooses,

but in my opinion all such conjecture is quite futile. You cannot calculate happiness as you weigh groceries or count sticks of tobacco ; and you cannot subtract an item of misery from an item of happiness and declare a remainder. It is all a matter of guess-work, and I do not think that we can arrive at any reasoned conclusion whether the natives in general were or were not happier in the old days than they are now ; nor, if we could, should I consider it material to inquire. For it would in any case be out of the question that we should withdraw from the Territory, and, if we did, some one else, who might be worse, would immediately take our place.

The material fact is that we are here, and shall remain here ; and that we and the Papuans must consequently make the best of one another. We came here for our own purposes—for strategic reasons in the first place—and we have remained on for our own purposes ; it is merely self-deception to say that we are any of us, except the missionaries, in the Territory for the good of the natives. But it is perfectly true that our relations with the natives create certain duties towards them, which we should endeavour to realize and to carry out to the best of our ability. And in speaking of these duties I am not referring solely to the Government, for there is an obligation towards the native which attaches to us all, by virtue of our common humanity, and the bond is all the closer in the case of the Papuan, who is a fellow-subject of ours, and who is living in the same country.

This obligation attaches to us all without distinction, but it is true that the Government has a peculiar duty towards the native beyond the planter or merchant or other resident, and it is the existence of this duty that has been responsible for much of the misunderstanding which has

arisen between the administration and residents in the past.

The Government has not only to safeguard the interests of the Papuan in the present, but must look forward to what is best for the future of the Papuan race as a whole. If the Government, for instance, thinks that the natives may hereafter require certain land, that land must not be sold. If the Government thinks that a particular district is supplying more labour than it can spare, recruiting must cease in that district ; and so on in a dozen instances that might easily be given.

Now there are two points about such Government action. First of all, the Government may be wrong ; the most careful officers may make mistakes, and it might be that the land was not really wanted, and that the district was not over-recruited, and that the officers who advised to that effect were mistaken. This possibility—the fallibility of the human element—is a necessary incident to all action, whether by the Government or by private individuals, and all we can do is to minimize its effects. But there is another point which is much more important, and that point arises from the fact that this duty—the duty, that is, of caring for the future of the native and of assisting him in his progress across the gulf of ages—is peculiar to the Government, and has no binding obligation upon the settler.

I do not mean to suggest that there are not many residents who are not Government officers, but who nevertheless interest themselves in these questions of native administration ; but it is not obligatory upon them to do so.

All that can be fairly demanded of a planter, for instance, is that he shall feed his labourers well, provide them with good accommodation, treat them well generally, pay them their wages, and send them back to their homes as expeditiously as circumstances will permit. Many planters do

more than this, but I think that, speaking generally, this is all that we can ask of them. We cannot expect from them a careful consideration of the benefits of native plantations, the advantages of free labour as compared with indentured, or the possibility of improving the native's condition by means of education and the encouragement of industry. We welcome any assistance that planters or others may offer in these matters, but I do not think that it can be fairly counted as any part of their duty to investigate them ; and consequently they and other residents are apt occasionally to be impatient with a Government that admittedly does consider these questions, and does attach considerable importance to them. Matters of this kind may seem to many of them to be mere academic fooling, and to be quite foreign to the actual facts of everyday life. They may resent a Government occupying itself with any subjects which are so far remote from the realities of the present, and they may be inclined to attack the whole Government policy as one of doctrinaire futility.

The only dignified action for a Government under such circumstances is to pursue the course that it has marked out for itself, and trust to time for its justification. Above all, it should resist the temptation to "hit back," and it should content itself with such an explanation of its policy as may be sufficient for one reading in good faith, with a genuine desire for information ; and it should remember that, though some of the criticism may be intended merely to embarrass, much of it is quite sincere.

The last three chapters have, I hope, sufficiently explained the conception which we have formed of our duty towards the Papuan, and of the methods by which we have endeavoured to carry it into effect. I am not so fatuous as to suppose that these methods cannot be improved upon, and

I hope that they will be improved upon in many particulars ; but I must be pardoned if I express my belief that our policy is a good one, and that it is calculated to advance the best interests of the Papuans and of Papua generally. It is, I think, consistent with the best traditions of the Empire, and it has, I understand, the full approval of the Commonwealth ; but I cannot tell whether it will have the approval of those who will succeed me in the administration of the Papuan Government, and this, after all, is the important point. For it is impossible to expect a Governor to carry out a policy which he does not approve.

I have no reason whatever for supposing that the efforts of the Government will ever relax in following the present line of policy, but, if by any chance they do, there are still two organizations, the Kwato Extension Association, and the Papuan Industries Limited, carrying on operations in the east and the west of the Territory respectively, who may be relied upon to carry out the industrial and agricultural education of the native on approved lines. The Kwato Association, under the management of the Rev. C. W. Abel, is subsidized by the Administration and is carrying out a policy which is practically identical with that of the Government in the district with which it is associated ; the Papuan Industries has hitherto been chiefly associated with Torres Straits, but is likely to extend its operations to Papua, under the management of the Rev. F. W. Walker, for many years a missionary in the Territory.

These two bodies may be relied upon to continue their work, even should the Government, in years to come, decide to abandon the present policy of individual native effort, and adopt one of service in closer connection with European capitalism. I can suggest no reason why the Government should ever do anything of the sort, and I

sincerely hope that it never will ; but it is perhaps a comfort to remember that, should the impossible happen, the experiment of native development will not necessarily be abandoned.

When Australia first assumed control of Papua one heard frequent, and, I think, quite genuine, expressions of alarm from many people who took an interest in the welfare of native races ; they were apprehensive, they said, of the attitude which the Commonwealth Government would assume towards the natives. Australia had a bad record with regard to her own aborigines—though few of the atrocities had been committed by Australians—and this, not unnaturally, excited distrust as to the probable treatment of the Papuans ; and this distrust was increased by a very distorted view of the White Australia policy, by which that act of purely defensive statesmanship was twisted into an organization for the oppression of coloured races. I have already said that I do not venture to predict what native policy may be adopted in the future, but I am absolutely certain of one thing ; and that is that there is not the slightest ground for fearing that any party in the Federal Parliament would ever countenance anything in the nature of injustice or cruelty towards the native population. It was debated many centuries ago, and I believe is still debated, whether a democracy can govern an Empire ; but the question has already been solved by the British democracy, which has governed an Empire more humanely and more successfully than any of its rivals. And there is no reason why the Australian democracy should not succeed equally well with regard to the small Empire that has been committed to its charge.

It is often said in the Territory that Australians take no interest in Papua, but I have never thought the complaint

to be well founded. True, little is known of Papua in Australia, and less now than ever, since the almost universal confusion with the Mandated Territory has caused everything to be placed in a wrong setting ; but is it reasonable to expect that anything should be known, except by those in some way personally connected with the Territory ? Papua is a difficult country to visit ; it is a long and rather an expensive journey, and the interior, except in a few parts, though quite safe nowadays, is still inaccessible except to organized parties. Personal inspection is therefore practically out of the question ; but I have always found that people were glad to get authentic information, and I certainly think that far more interest is taken in Australia in Papuan matters, than is taken in England in the affairs of any of the Crown Colonies.

Naturally Papua does not loom so large in the life of Australian residents as it does in ours, and, naturally also, their ideas are occasionally rather vague. On one occasion, I remember, an old gentleman, who had probably never in his life had a dinner of less than six courses, confided to me how much he envied me my "luxurious life in the islands." I had been living for a considerable time on tinned meat, and I assured him that his envy was misplaced, but I do not think that he believed me. The alleged "luxury," and the equally fictitious "delightful climate" (which is really not very far removed from the hottest in the world), are probably due to inexact reports circulated by passing visitors, who have perhaps confused Papua with some other place in the Pacific.

These more obvious mistakes could easily be avoided, and if the tourists and others who visit our shores could restrain their imagination, the more notice that is given to Papua the better it would be for all concerned ; but I cannot think

that the circulation of the incorrect impressions of irresponsible travellers can ever do any good. Photographers are perhaps the worst offenders. They certainly turn out some wonderful pictures, but when one hears that a respectable resident of the Port Moresby village, who has been working for years as a hospital orderly, is represented as a head-hunter stalking his prey through the long grass, and one's own washerwoman as queen of an unknown tribe in the interior, one begins to wonder whether uncontrolled publicity is much of an advantage after all.

As might be expected, instances of inexact and superficial observation are frequent enough, and I have, within the last few days, received, through the courtesy of the writer, a pamphlet by Captain G. Pitt Rivers, F.R.A.I., which affords an interesting example of careless and inaccurate observation by one who was, doubtless, largely actuated by the best intentions.

The writer of this pamphlet takes the Papuan Government rather severely to task—(i) because chiefs are not appointed village constables ; and (ii) because, as he puts it, we assist the Missions to “ wage relentless war ” against polygamy.* Both these statements are altogether incorrect. We do appoint chiefs to be village constables when they are the best men for the post, as I explained many years ago on page 245 of my book, *Papua or British New Guinea*, and several chiefs are, in fact, village constables at the present moment ; and we do not “ wage war ” against polygamy.

The question of polygamy is rather interesting. There is among some tribes, who used to be practically monogamous, a tendency towards polygamy and instability of marriage, due to the ease with which money and native wealth is now acquired, and the consequent increased

facility of buying a wife ; this tendency is detrimental to the village life and to encourage it would be a mistake, so we show our disapproval by discharging a village constable who takes an additional wife, and in this I think that we act wisely. In other respects our general attitude towards native marriage customs is one of neutrality. It is amusing, perhaps, to find this policy described as one of "relentless war" against polygamy, but surely such a description is, to say the least of it, unscientific.

One may, perhaps, disregard inaccuracies of this kind as harmless figments which, though rather irritating, really injure no one ; but there are, or rather were, one or two matters a misunderstanding of which may, I think, have had some rather unfortunate results.

Take, for instance, the "teeming fertility" of the tropics. This has become a commonplace ; it is usually very much exaggerated, and it was so in the case of Papua. Lord Olivier puts the matter very clearly :¹

"There is a tendency" (he says) "to exaggerate the spontaneous fertility of tropical lands. Enthusiastic visitors to the West Indies are constantly amazed at the inefficiency which fails to produce universal opulence in a country where 'anything will grow.' Such visitors sometimes take up estates, in order to show the indolent creole what British energy can make of his neglected inheritance. They presently discover that anything, indeed, will grow, provided the rains do not fail ; and especially 'bush' and weeds, which they have to clean out continually if they are to get any crops, also caterpillars and scale insects, and cotton worms, and other competing forms of life in great abundance. In short, that the immediate and intelligent application of labour is constantly necessary ; and even for a black man, under a tropical sun hard labour is not always inviting."

It was assumed that, as Papua was in the tropics, it also possessed "teeming wealth" and would "grow any-

¹ *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, p. 77.

thing," and a mild land boom arose on the passing of the Papua Act and the assumption of control by the Commonwealth, to be followed by the inevitable reaction when it was discovered that the hopes of investors had soared too high, and were not likely to be justified by results.

Then there are other circumstances which must be taken into account when considering the fertility of the tropics and the abundance of indigenous food. Such are the existence of an element of destructiveness in the "general make-up" of tropical conditions, as Mr. Carr Saunders expresses it,¹ though this has less application to Papua, which is outside the hurricane zone; and the general absence of cereals from indigenous tropical products. The absence of cereals is important principally in connection with the native food supply, for arboriculture and root culture do not give such a good return as the culture of cereals, and fruit and roots do not, as a rule, keep so well. Yams will keep fairly well, but taro, for instance, and plantains, will not; and this has an important bearing on the economic position of the native, for unless he has sago to fall back upon, he is in danger of being left rather short of food between the end of one crop and the beginning of the next.

An exaggerated estimate of the richness of Papua had led investors to expect too rapid and too great a return for their investments, and a false conception of the native as an idle and overfed person, too lazy to work, except under compulsion, had induced mistaken views on the labour question. Both these erroneous ideas had doubtless rather a bad effect upon Papuan development, but the effect was not lasting, and a fuller understanding of Papuan conditions now prevails in the Commonwealth.

¹ Carr Saunders, *Population Problem*, p. 443.

It is possible that in the years to come Papua and the Mandated Territory may be of far greater importance to Australia than they are to-day. It is probable that in time they may supply practically all the tropical requirements of the Commonwealth, and it is even possible that certain trades, which may be unable to carry the high wages of Australia, may find refuge in the Territories. I am one of those persons who put "Australia first," and who are alternately applauded and held up to execration by right-thinking people, and I should never seek any advantage to Papua which would be injurious to the Commonwealth. I understand and quite agree that the coloured labour of Papua should not be allowed to compete with the white labour of Australia, but where an industry obviously does not pay with white labour, I cannot see that the mere fact that it was once tried in Australia, and failed, should be regarded as a conclusive reason why it should not be tried again in Papua.

For instance, if the cultivation of coffee is being tried in Queensland, I can understand that, during the trial, it should be protected against Papuan coffee ; but if the trial is made, and the venture definitely fails, I cannot see why Papuan coffee should not be admitted duty free. So if some form of manufacture, or indeed any industry, cannot exist in Australia, there can surely be no objection to trying it under the cheaper conditions of Papua. And there would be no ground for the imposition of a heavy tariff on the proceeds of Papuan labour in the instance which I have supposed, for there would be no Australian industry to protect.

The economic progress of the natives of Papua can be no disadvantage to Australia, for the tariff can always be used to prevent competition ; and the industrial develop-

ment of the Papuan is not only desirable upon many other grounds, but should particularly be encouraged by Australians, as being, in fact, a necessary corollary to the White Australia policy. For, if the Papuan fails, his place will be eventually taken by the Asiatic ; and with an Asiatic population in Papua, the White Australia policy might be difficult to maintain.

We have decided in Papua, and I am sure wisely, to follow the general principles laid down in the Imperial Crown Colonies, but it is probably unavoidable that the administration of an Australian dependency should proceed on somewhat different lines. One distinguishing feature is that of distance ; for instance, from Port Moresby to the North Queensland ports is only two days' steam, and to Brisbane is but a week. One result of this is that the movement between Australia and Papua is more free and unrestricted than, for instance, between England and the Gold Coast. Men come over readily enough, of course, at a fairly high wage, to work in mines or elsewhere in Papua, and others even come "looking for a job" ; and they return when they are tired of the life, and others take their place. In England I understand that for a miner to go to West Africa is something of an enterprise, not to be rashly undertaken, and, naturally, migration to the more distant Crown Colonies is a still more difficult and serious matter.

In most of the Crown Colonies there is not so much demand for white labour, by reason of the presence there of what I have called an "intermediate race" such as Chinese ; but in Papua the demand for such labour is still considerable in different kinds of skilled work, and it is an advantage to settlers to have the Australian labour market to rely upon.

Another effect of the proximity of Australia is that the white men who come to Papua are commonly of a different type from those whom one meets in the Crown Colonies ; the greater distance and the greater expense of the journey, say, from London to Ceylon, as compared with that from Sydney to Port Moresby, have necessarily a selective influence. Whether the selection is beneficial or the reverse—in other words, whether the Englishman who goes to Ceylon is a better man than the Australian who comes to Papua—is a question on which opinions may differ, and on which I cannot give an unbiased judgment ; but at any rate I think that there is a difference. As regards his relation with natives, the Englishman has perhaps the advantage, as he is farther removed from the class who have to fear the black man's rivalry ; but he is also under a disadvantage in so far as he is probably lacking in the camaraderie which seems to decrease as one rises in the scale of wealth.

There seem to be differences also in the general administrative and industrial relations. The Englishman of the Crown Colonies, including, of course, the Irishman, the Scot, and the Welshman, seems to have been less socialized than the average Australian, and to possess in consequence less power of combination and more individuality. The Australian never stands alone—he always has a League or an Association or a Lodge from whom he can seek assistance in times of emergency ; and this, of course, may or may not be an advantage, according to the view that the League or other body takes of its duties.

I merely mention these matters by way of suggestion and do not wish to dogmatize about them, for the data on which I have to rely are very scanty, and are derived almost entirely from my life in Papua, and from what I

have read of the Crown Colonies. I think, however, that if these differences are correct, they may have an important bearing on Australian administration. There seems, for instance, to be a tendency in Australia to think that a strictly organized and minutely regulated public service, with rights of appeal, and promotion by seniority, is just as necessary in a small struggling territory, with a tiny population of white men, as it may, perhaps, be in the Commonwealth of Australia, with its vast service spread over the whole continent. This tendency may be correct or it may not—I do not pretend to decide—but it will make a difference in administration, if only a difference of expense.

In the old days when the Dutch steamers, coming from Java, used to call at Port Moresby, I occasionally had the pleasure of meeting young Englishmen from the rubber plantations of the Federated Malay States, who very kindly took it upon themselves to instruct me in my duties as administrator. They quite forgot that Papua is not the Federated Malay States, and that a Government is not a rubber plantation, but they used to seem so pleased with themselves that I had not the heart to remind them. The part of our policy which they particularly objected to was our exclusion of aliens. This was a good instance of the difference between the Australian and the British outlook, and of the influence on Papuan administration of our proximity to Australia. They used to say that our policy was "short-sighted," which is the one thing that it was not, for we certainly looked far ahead, perhaps, some would say, too far. Of course, there is no doubt, and I do not suppose there ever has been any doubt, that one could develop the Territory much more rapidly and much more completely if coloured labour were freely admitted. We

fully realize this, but we have, nevertheless, decided to sacrifice the present to the future, and to exclude alien labour, and the Commonwealth has agreed. We see that "even with compulsory repatriation a considerable number" of aliens "would remain and would cause a race problem in the future"¹; and in addition there is the objection, which appears to me conclusive, though officially it concerns me less directly, arising from the proximity of Australia, and the danger of immigrants crossing the comparatively few miles of intervening ocean.

The principle of Asiatic exclusion is said to be "narrow," and so it is, if patriotism and self-preservation are narrow. The principle is doubtless a heavy handicap in the development of a new country, but we have shouldered it deliberately and we will carry it to the end.

In our conjecture as to what the future may have in store for the Papuan we may derive encouragement from what Wallace said about the Papuan intellect—that he was inclined to rate it somewhat higher than that of the Malay.² It is true that the same writer also predicted the "early extinction of the Papuan race" if the tide of colonization should be turned towards New Guinea; but there has been such a vast improvement in the treatment of coloured races since this was written that we may venture to doubt the correctness of the prophecy. It is no longer true that the white man offers the coloured man "the alternative of slavery or death"; there has been added a third possibility of a peaceful development under the protection of a Government sympathetic at least, even if it must be despotic.

There is, however, one peril which awaits the Papuan,

¹ *British East Africa Protectorate Native Labour Commission*, 1912-13, p. 325.

² See Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, last chapter.

and which I mentioned particularly in a paper which I read in London in 1923 ; and I should like to repeat what I said then, in calling attention to it now.

“ It is difficult ” (I said) “ to guess at the future of the Papuan under Australian rule. There are many dangers in his path, and the greatest danger of all may come from what I may call a benevolent capitalism—a capitalism which will use the native solely as a means towards the development of the country in the interests of non-resident capitalists, to the absolute disregard of the future of the native race as a whole and of its eventual advancement to a higher grade of civilization. Such a capitalism disguises itself by an excessive and scrupulous care for the health of the natives and for their education, especially their technical training, and even occasionally by zeal for the proper feeding and accommodation of the indentured labourer ; and it is possible that, in this guise, it may so far impose upon the Australian public and the Commonwealth Government as to persuade them to allow it to control the administration of Papua. If so, the doom of the Papuan is sealed—he will remain a servant till the end of time. If, however, he escapes this fate, he may have a fairly prosperous future before him, and I for one shall be much surprised if eventually he does not show himself a better man than his cousin the Malay.”

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